# INDIA

A Journal for the Discussion of Indian Affairs.

REGISTERED FOR] [TRANSMISSION ABROAD.

No. 19. Vol. II.] APRIL 10, 1891. [PRICE, PER COPY, 2d., or 4 as. YEARLY, POST FREE, 2/6, or 3rs.

CONTENTS:

| | PAGE. |
|---|---|
| ADVERTISEMENTS ... ... ... ... ... ... | 97, 119, 120 |
| CORRESPONDENCE: | |
| Indian National Defence League, British Paternal Control, Indian Facts Diagrammatically represented, Disrespect, India's Claim ... | 99 |
| INDIAN GOVERNMENT STATISTICS AND STATEMENTS: ARE THEY TRUSTWORTHY? ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 105-108 |
| INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: | |
| British Committee, Officers in India, Standing Committees ... | 97 |
| IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND INDIA: | |
| Tax on Dry Grain in Ceylon, Railway Annuities, Bombay Abkari, Opium in Burma, Indian Letters, Stores Overcharges, Infant Marriages (113), Magazine Rifles, Civil Justice, Bombay Salt Act, Abdul Rasoul, Licensed Opium Shops (114), Increased Deaths, Leprosy and a High Salt Tax, Arrests without Warrant, Johore, British Indians in Mozambique, Opium Smoking (115), Factory Act, High Prices and Crop Failures, Bombay Salt Act (116), Rack-renting and Deaths in Gurgaon, Rents in the Central Provinces, Anglo-Portuguese Indian Treaties, Privilege Leave, Arrest of Captain Drury, Military Furlough Rules (117), Salaries in India, Indian Councils Bill, Cheap Postage, Opium Dens, Council Bills, Treatment of Tenants in the North-Western Provinces, Drink Traffic (118), Ceylon Harbour, Sale of Arrack (119) .. ... | 113-119 |
| LEADING ARTICLES: | |
| I.—A Present-Day, Imperative Duty... ... ... ... | 109 |
| II.—"The Buried Wealth of India" ... ... ... ... | 110 |
| III.—The Last Session of Congress ... ... ... ... | 111 |
| NOTES ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 97, 98 |
| SALT DUTY IN INDIA, THE: | |
| Speeches by Pringle Kennedy, D. E. Wacha, and G. K. Gokhale ... | 112 |
| SPOLIATION OF INDIA, THE, by J. Seymour Keay, M.P. ... ... | 100-104 |

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## NOTES.

Sir Charles Turner, K.C.I.E., ex-Chief Justice of Madras, and now a Member of the Viceroy's Council, recently delivered a speech at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, on Christian missions in India. In the course of his remarks he made allusion to Indian religions and the Indian character in terms which have been reported as follows: Sir Charles proceeded at considerable length to trace the religious history of India from 1500 to 1000 B.C. The Hindu, he said, looked for God behind the veil of nature, and his religion was probably a degradation from a purer monotheism. His ideal was a condition of complete passionlessness which could only be arrived at after passing through a series of existences, at the end of which the individual, having been requited for both his good and evil deeds, at length obtained the desired rest. Asceticism was adopted with the view of arriving sooner at the coveted goal. The autocratic tendencies of the Brahmins led to a great struggle between them and the warrior caste, and from that revolt Buddhism sprang. It was a revolt against caste, the Gods and priests were ignored, also sacrifices and prayers. The Brahmin religion was declared to have become a mere empty formalism and good works were made the cardinal virtue of Buddhism. Its great defect was that it afforded no scope for spiritual exercises. Buddhism was sometimes represented as nearly approaching Christianity, but after examination the supposed resemblances disappeared. It was quite possible they might find in the myths and legends attributed to Buddha, some of the doctrines of the early Christians, because there was always intercourse between Syria and India, but he thought it almost absolutely certain that all these pretty stories of Buddhism were subsequent to the year 1 A.D. The Hindu revival was next referred to by Sir Charles. They said the chief end of man's life was liberation, attainable not by virtuous acts, but by knowledge, which, in turn, was only obtainable by meditation. The Hindu religion contained some very beautiful thoughts, but holiness was not an essential. All they required was power of a certain kind, whether obtained from patrons of virtue or monsters of vice—Pantheism. The most horrible crimes were carried out among certain classes without exciting any particular stir. Shocking license was allowed, and men looked upon death as only closing one stage of a series of existences. Thus they had little fear of death. They were brought up to a contempt of life, except with regard to the animal creation. If a landlord's agent became unpopular, the tenants would say "We must get rid of him somehow," and probably one old man would tell his sons to kill him and accuse the agent of the murder. He (the speaker) had known that done both in Upper India and Madras. In Bengal it was a frequent occurrence, and the victim would think he had performed a pious duty to his family. There were great virtues in the Hindu character. They were wonderfully honest. Men receiving very small payments would

carry treasure for a bank a long distance in a most trustworthy manner, and he had himself found that whenever he put anything in their charge they delivered it satisfactorily. He had a cash box from which money used to disappear, but when he made over the keys to his servant the trust was honestly kept. They were intensely affectionate to their own people and also appreciated the kindness of Europeans. Their untruthfulness he attributed to careless observation, temptation, and a desire to please.

In the *Indian Magazine and Review* for the current month, Mr. James B. Knight, C.I.E., has something to say on the use or misuse of the term Babu. Mr. Knight remarks that the prefix "Babu," so familiar to all Anglo-Indians, is now, it seems, objected to, and is said by a writer in "India," to be used in derision by a large section of Anglo-Indians." "Babu" he says "has no historical basis; nor is it found in any ancient work, or in any vernacular lexicon." "This term," he continues, "not only differentiates Europeans from Indians, but creates a gulf between the Bengalis and other races of India." And he arrives at this conclusion: "It will be apparent to every right-thinking person that the term 'Mr.' should be adopted instead of 'Babu,' when using the English language." The writer of the letter signs himself "Satischandra Ghosh," and he is doubtless known among his friends, both English and Indian, as "Satis Babu," and why he should take exception to a universal custom, and, to our thinking, a very pleasant one, we cannot conceive. No doubt English people in India often unwittingly err in the matter of courtesy in addressing Indians, from ignorance of the language and of the conventional forms of speech among Hindus, and in England it is no doubt desirable that the usual English prefix of "Mr." should be adopted. But in India the change would not diminish by a hair's-breadth the difference between the races,—and it would lead to endless confusion. The Hindu writer of "The Hindus as they are," devotes a chapter to "The Bengalee Babu," and says, "This is an euphonious Oriental title, suggestive of some amiable qualities which are eminently calculated to adorn and elevate human life." And in Bengali Dictionaries "Babu" is defined as a title of respect.

The Rev. George Kerry, and the majority of the missionaries now in India, do not think it to be their duty to "take sides," or to exhibit an active and sympathetic interest in the reforms which the educated people of India are striving to obtain. Perhaps the following two sentences from a report of a speech recently delivered by Sir Charles Turner at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, will serve to enlighten Mr. Kerry and his narrow-visioned brethren that their disregard of temporal things affecting Indians stands in the way of their achieving great spiritual results. Said Sir Charles: "Opportunities of assisting and showing sympathy with the people in their temporal affairs should not be neglected by missionaries. In Tinnevelly the intervention of a missionary on behalf of some persecuted Brahmin tenants led to the baptising of three hundred men."

The following resolution was unanimously carried by the Wisbech Radical Club at a meeting held on March 18:—"Resolved, that this meeting regrets the absence of the elective principle in the Indian Councils Bill. And respectfully urges the members of the opposition to support the Indian Councils Amendment Bill when before the House of Commons." Copies of this resolution have been forwarded to Mr. Gladstone, Mr. James Bryce, and to the British Committee of the Congress. Will Liberal associations and clubs generally imitate so good an example? Much benefit to Indian Reform would accrue from such a course being adopted.

"Anti-Caste," is a small monthly sheet issued by a good Quaker lady, Miss Catherine Impey, of Street, Somersetshire. It "advocates the brotherhood of mankind irrespective of colour or descent." Miss Impey conducts her paper in a most admirable manner. Nothing appears in her columns which is not of an uplifting and high-minded character. Every line breathes the noblest spirit of devotion to the highest Christian ideals. Among English folk of broad minds and kindly hearts it ought to have a wide circulation: one halfpenny per month (one shilling a year, including postage) is all Miss Impey charges for her effort of brotherly kindness.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE INDIAN NATIONAL DEFENCE LEAGUE: A PROPOSAL FOR DISCUSSION.

*To the Editor of* "India."

Sir,—I feel a little perplexed, for I do not know how to condense the whole of what I have to say within so short a space, as it may both be read and understood. I shall, therefore, refer here to the last number (February 13th) of your valuable paper from which the excerpt from the *Pioneer*, and a report of the Dum-Dum case by Mr. W. S. Caine, might well stand for my preface. But, Sir, even these are but few of the many calamities under which the native of India lives. For the police oppression is everywhere intense. If a murder has been committed, the murderer, of course, is found in the first man that the village can show to the police detective. If there has been theft in the neighbourhood, some innocent citizen is thrust into the gaol, because the "Cuptâu Sahib" must go a-hunting next morning, and has therefore no time for further inquiries. The railway passengers are everywhere treated like so many bales of cotton. The ticket-collector spits on them. The railway porter kicks them in. In the law courts a heated verandah is dedicated to those who contributed most towards its maintenance. And here, too, he is cuffed from one side and kicked from the other. The Court *munshi* walking across with a senatorial air cheats him. The floor-sweeper is suffered to extort his customed black-mail. The revenue officers making their frequent tours are often more destructive than a swarm of locusts. A "nigger's" life is appraised to be worth no more than a bumper! Sir, do you then wonder that under such a misrule the Indian peasant cannot prosper? If wonder at all, is not this the wonder, that still he lives and can pay his dues? His spirits are none the less shattered by this incessant tyranny of his own men. He cannot remonstrate with them because he knows or believes that they wear badges of the Government authority, and perhaps sent with the same purpose as the Pindaree brigands of yore, whom well his forefathers feared. Even if he is told that the British Government is too benign to do anything of the kind, and that, therefore, if he complained against them his grievances shall be heard, he has no means to go to the district court and bear the cost of litigation. His uncertainty and his ignorance of the technicalities of the laws, and above all, his fears of provoking greater evil in case he should come back unsuccessful—all positively deter him from any resolute action. He, however, finds refuge in the wise laws of his religion, which tell him that life is an evil and must be borne. Gods, he believes, often assume different guise, and come to try man for his forbearance and goodness. They take the form of a blue-jacketed policeman, and they are the evil genii that haunt him in the shape of revenue collectors and other officers that remorselessly subject him to a thousand indignities. He is therefore patient with them. He is, for this reason, submissive.

But, sir, if this were all the evil, I should never have presumed to take so much of your valuable space. Unfortunately, this is but the beginning, for it works upon the national character and the national physique. "If you were to show me a gaunt, listless man, with no aspirations and no impulses, I would show you a man upon whom calamities have fallen in showers." These are the words of a classic philosopher, and they may be illustrated from the case of present India. Without therefore dilating more upon the existence of misery and poverty in India, which everyone may see who has eyes to see, I propose hastily to lay down here a plan of my scheme which I feel confident will bring about some good, and free the Indian from that oppression at least from which even every savage is free.

I may state here that I have had the privilege of discussing the whole proposition with a celebrated professor here, and that his views have tended considerably to modify the details as I had originally thought them out for myself. I shall, therefore, feel grateful if the Indian press will be good enough to copy this, and give me the benefit of its criticism.

### TENTATIVE RULES OF A DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

1. That an association be formed called the "Indian National Defence League," for the object of watching and protecting the interests of the natives of India, and tendering them every assistance wherever it is necessary.

2. That the League be composed of every well-wisher of India, who is the lover of peace and liberty, but especially of lawyers, who promise to give *free* advice in all cases of grievances received from a public servant or any other person, and if desirable plead on behalf of the complainant.

3. That a list of such lawyers be circulated in all languages, and that they be accessible for consultation in every town as far as possible.

4. That the League employ agents to promulgate its views, and watch over the welfare of the people, render them assistance in the pursuit of their calling, and offer every facility for the ventilation of their grievances.

5. That a national fund be established for the protection of

the rights of the natives of India, and also for the protection of home industries against the encroachments of foreign trade.

6. That every effort be made to utilize all the natural resources available in the country, and thus prevent the recurrences of famine, etc.

7. That agents of the League protect the farmer from the merciless usurer, give him knowledge of the best means of agriculture, facilitate the centralization of reproductive industries, and watch generally over the material welfare of every Indian peasant.

In conclusion, sir, I am sure that although this scheme may not be able to compass all its ends, yet it will at least tend to curb the vicious propensities of natives, who seem to atone for their servility to their superiors by their wanton and criminal insolence towards those whom they assume to be their inferiors. But I am confident that the scheme if well worked will achieve greater good; and, indeed, no greater good can it ever aspire to than this, that it may inspire in every man's mind confidence in the Government, a Government which, with all its faults, is, to my thinking, the best that India has ever had in its historic life.

I am, Sir, yours,

A SYMPATHISER.

P.S.—I shall be glad to receive any suggestions and comments favourable or unfavourable, sent to me, if you permit, care of the Editor of INDIA.—S.

## BRITISH PATERNAL (?) CONTROL OF A FEUDATORY STATE DURING A MINORITY.

*To the Editor of* "INDIA."

SIR,—The peculiar way in which the State of Gwalior in Central India is practically administered by the British Government in the name of the so-called Council of Regency, has called forth severe criticisms in the public press in India. The greater portion of the treasure saved by the late lamented chief Jiaji Rao Scindia has already passed over to our paternal (?) Government, and the expenditure of the State has been so cunningly adjusted by the "accuser of the Maharaja of Kashmir" (I refer to Sir Lepel Griffin) that its falling income is barely found sufficient to cover it. On the other hand, Mr. Henvey betrayed his sad ignorance of the fiscal condition of this impoverished State in stating in the annual administration report for 1889-90 that the Gwalior State still possesses a cash balance of between four and five crores of rupees (Rx. 4,000,000 and Rx. 5,000,000). Mr. Henvey has lent himself to ridicule when he says that the working annual surplus reaches the figure of twenty lakhs (Rx. 200,000). Now the Government of India seems to entertain a desire to deprive the State of its yet remaining treasure, and has suggested that the money (if there be any) should be invested in some undertaking of great utility. The Government of India has also expressed a wish that all the "hoarded silver" in the Gwalior vaults should come into the hands of the Mint Master at Calcutta.

So much for the financial condition of the Gwalior State. This encumbered condition of its finances has been aggravated by the appointment of highly-paid officials, whose services the State does not seem to require at all. For instance what is the use of retaining Pandit Dharam Narayan in his office as tutor to the minor Maharaja, while the education and training of the latter have already been entrusted to Mr. J. W. D. Johnstone? Then, again, what is the use of retaining Mahomed Kasim (a favoured creature of Sir Lepel Griffin) at the head of the Settlement Department where Mr. Pitcher has been appointed as Settlement Commissioner of the Gwalior State, and has been followed in his train by Jehad Hosain and Bala Rao Kharkar? In short the services of Pandit Dharam Narayan, Muhammad Kasim, Jehad Hosain, and Bala Rao Kharkar, getting Rs. 1,000, Rs. 1,200, Rs. 1,200, and Rs. 1,000 per month, respectively, are useless, are unnecessary. It should also be noticed here that the expenses of the office establishment of the three Settlement Commissioners are nearly half a lakh of rupees annually. The removal of these four highly-paid officials, whose services are not at all required by the State, would save the latter unnecessary expenditure of more than a lakh of rupees a year. There are many other items of unnecessary expenditure both in the civil and military department, which, if brought under possible reduction, might give a surplus of Rx 200,000 a year. The Government of India must see its own way to diminish the expenditure of the several departments of the Gwalior State in order that it may escape the accusation of squandering the treasure of a State "confided by a dying friend and ally to its fostering care."

UMPIRE.

Central India.

## INDIAN FACTS DIAGRAMMATICALLY REPRESENTED.

*To the Editor of* "INDIA."

SIR,—I write a few lines to congratulate you on the very effective number which INDIA makes under date March 6th.

I have always had great faith in diagrammatic representations, and I venture to suggest that the tables in the current issue together with some others framed on D. Naoroji's "Poverty of India" and your own "India for the Indians" would make splendid propagandist material if printed on say double demy sheets and sent out to hang up in working men's clubs, halls, etc. In this large form they might also be very useful to lecturers.

There is one thing which must be mentioned however before I quit this suggestion which is, that it appears to me to be necessary to secure and attach to every placard sworn affidavits of a body of *Government* officials that all the tables are compiled from Government records.

Without some such precaution as this it will be difficult, if not impossible, to make any ordinary body of people believe that English officialism can be *quite* as bad as the pictures make out.

Jingo Sir Charles Dilke entered a protest to any assertion that England had by her foreign and colonisation methods of procedure earned the execration of almost every nation under the sun, but every fresh number of INDIA, in fact almost every day, some fresh disclosure makes one echo the remark of the ruler of India who in face of his chances had come to wonder at his own moderation.

I know the Indian Congress party deprecate strong language, but the state of things exposed by these tables is so truly awful that one is only moderate because language utterly fails to express one's whole feelings.

I suppose the Indian Congress party know their own business best, and know best how to carry on their campaign in England, but I feel bound to express the opinion that in view of an approaching General Election they would be fully justified in a much more vigourous beating up than has yet been seen. I have been of this opinion for a long time, and it seems the more necessary to urge it now that Charles Bradlaugh can do no more for India's cause.

I did not intend my suggestion to be more than a few lines so will at once close by hoping you will pardon

Yours,

THOMAS SHORE.

16½, Paul's Place, Newington Green Road, London, N.
March 8, 1891.

## DISRESPECT TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

*To the Editor of* "INDIA."

SIR,—In reference to Mr. S. Ghosh's complaint on the subject of the disrespect with which Englishmen presume to treat us Indians in our own country, will you allow me to remark that I think both its cause and remedy rest entirely with us? It is we, who, by our culpable passivity, are not only responsible for this, but for every act of oppression and injustice that Englishmen have ever perpetrated against us. Like the British taxpayer who grumbles and pays, we also complain and submit. All through the wretched history of the conquest (miscalled) of India. We betray this same extraordinary infatuation of submission to English dominion. Our ignorance and petty jealousies (fanned into fiercer fires by that superior kind of craft which in civilized Europe is called diplomacy), coupled with fair promises, whose utter hollowness had not then been tested, may account, to some extent, for such infatuation in the past; but what can explain the abject subserviency with which the enlightened Indians continue to prostrate themselves before their arrogant masters? Has the habit of self-abasement grown into a second nature with us, that we have educated men like Mr. Ghosh, appealing to another's—even though that other's be your own—good intervention on such a subject? Just, in fact, as if he really within himself felt that want of self-respect without which none can hope to command the respect of others. If my countrymen would but recognize that respect to them is—like justice and freedom—nothing more than their due, and instead of begging for it as a favour insist upon it as their right, they would soon have little cause to complain of disrespectful treatment.

Yours etc.

ARYAN.

## INDIA'S CLAIM ON ENGLAND.

*To the Editor of* "INDIA."

SIR,—Your well-informed readers may perhaps wonder at my ignorance of the facts, figures, and arguments of the Indian problems of to-day if they judge me by the report of my lecture, reproduced in your columns of March 6th from the *Eastern Morning News* (Hull). Two or three Liberal political meetings in the town (Hull) deprived the Womens' Liberal Association of the services of a shorthand reporter, and the result has been this distorted, confused, and altogether meaningless report. Truly enough I do see there some of the points I mentioned, but the complete account is too bad to admit of corrections or modifications.

Yours truly,

HARKISHEN LAL.

Maida Vale, W., March 7, 1891.

## THE SPOLIATION OF INDIA: HOW IT IS BROUGHT ABOUT.

By MR. J. SEYMOUR KEAY, M.P.

Some six or seven years ago Mr. Seymour Keay, M.P., contributed a series of articles entitled "The Spoliation of India," to the *Nineteenth Century*. These articles, owing to the intimate knowledge of his subject by the writer and his vigorous exposition of his facts, attracted considerable attention. Mr. Keay's statements were unanswerable, the attempt made to reply to them by an ex-Indian civilian as "John Indigo" in the *National Review*, serving rather to heighten the effect of Mr. Keay's revelations and denunciations. Mr. Keay did not publish in the *Nineteenth Century* all he wrote in 1884, and has kindly placed at our disposal the following most damaging and most trenchant description of some of the consequences of our present mode of rule in India:—

The foregoing particulars have, it may be hoped, thoroughly laid bare the system under which our Indian Government are enabled to perform the double feat of forcing up the taxation of the cultivator to starvation point, and yet loudly protesting that they are taking from him only a small share of the produce of his fields. The Indian cultivator does not even get the consolation of any sympathy in his distress. He starves, but he is represented as all the while rolling in wealth. Nay, the very symptoms of his woe are adduced as proofs of his happiness. The soil is exhausted by over-cropping. The industrial and carrying classes are driven to agriculture by our British manufactures and by our railways. Consequently, the people are compelled to take up a low class of land, which barely yields subsistence in return for tremendous labour. The well-known and immediate effect of this state of extreme hardship and pressure on the soil *is to cause a rise in rent*.[1] Mr. John Stuart Mill, after most clearly demonstrating the grounds on which this economic truth rests, sums up as follows:—

"*Whenever agriculture is driven to descend to worse land, or more onerous processes, rent rises.* A rise of rent is therefore *inevitably consequent* on an increased demand for agricultural produce, *when unaccompanied by increased facilities for its production.*"

But Mr. Mill preaches all in vain to the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. You may apply his doctrines where else you please, but not to the reduction of lucrative British domination. Instead of deploring the rise in rent as an indication of severe struggle and depletion, our officials jubilate over it as a proof of prosperity, of which they straightway announce their intention to take full advantage as a ground for further exaction. The same heterodox reasoning is applied to the other well-known symptom of adversity, which goes hand in hand with a rise of rent in a purely agricultural country, to wit, a rise in the price of produce. Mr. Fawcett, in his *Manual of Political Economy*, has clearly proved (and the brothers Strachey themselves adopt the demonstration)[2] that "if the land tax be increased so as to exceed a rack-rent" *the immediate effect is "to increase the price of agricultural produce.*" It has already been shown by what all-pervading and specious devices enhanced assessments, amounting to the most frightful rack-renting, have been imposed. Prices have consequently risen, and what do our officials do? They straightway declare the rise in prices, caused by their own enhancements, to be a fresh sign of prosperity, and immediately increase the rent still further! That this is the course adopted is no mere inference of hostile critics. It was plainly avowed by the Famine Commissioners themselves that such a rise in the price of produce is held by the Indian Government as a sufficient reason for further raising the assessment. "If the general tendency of prices," say they, "is upwards, the advantage of the rise would be divided" between the Government and the cultivator.[3] The wheel goes merrily round. The rank-renting assessment compels a rise in prices, and then the rise in prices, so compelled, is itself pointed to as a ground for further increasing the assessment. The further increased assessment again raises prices, and the new rise is, in its turn, paraded as the justification of still further increased extortion. And thus the Indian Government have got the people fast inside another of those vicious and inhuman circles, whereby

THEY ARE NOW BEING GROUND TO POWDER FOR THE BENEFIT OF THEIR EUROPEAN MASTERS;

while England, who, if she but knew, would rise up and wipe out all such conduct, is soothed and deceived by ingenious theories and blatant protestations.

A few words must be added with regard to those irrigation canals, to which the Government of India invariably point as undeniable proofs of the inestimable blessings of British rule. It would be going too far, perhaps, to state that none of these works have been individually beneficial to the country. An all-important fact is, however, concealed by the apologists, namely, that

THE FEW IRRIGATION CANALS,

which have been financially successful,

HAVE ALL BEEN MADE THROUGH LANDS ALREADY IRRIGATED BY WELLS;

and information is carefully withheld as to the extent of the well irrigation which they have displaced, the means adopted to displace it, and *the extent of enhancement of rent to which the ryots have been subjected since their own wells were superseded.* It is also generally unknown to the English public that on these canals there has been introduced a system of forced labour, most un-English in its character, amounting, in fact, to legalized serfdom.

Moreover, it is obvious that a mere partial success is not sufficient to prove that the British irrigation system as a whole is advantaging the country. To prove this it would be necessary to show that all the irrigation works put together furnish a clear balance of profit *to the people* (and not merely to the Government), after fully providing for the drain which they cause *from the people* in the shape of interest, taxation, and expenses. As regards the advantage *to the people*, it must be remembered that on all the land irrigated the assessment is so largely raised, as to make the irrigation much more of a profit to the Treasury than to the country. Many of these works, moreover, have been falsely projected, and have proved ruinous to all concerned, and there is much reason to fear that, even with regard to our boasted irrigation works,

WE TAKE MORE FROM THE PEOPLE THAN WE GIVE THEM IN RETURN.

The position of our Government as aliens renders it in fact impossible for them to conduct any such great industrial agency in India, with the wisdom and economy necessary to commercial success. Fabulous sums are accordingly wasted, which would create simple astonishment if thrown away in the carrying out of similar undertakings in England, and the only persons unquestionably advantaged are the British officers engaged in such works on enormous salaries. Here is an admission made by the great Madras Engineer, Sir Arthur Cotton, before the Finance Committee: "The Ganges Canal was falsely projected. It cost £3,000,000, because they chose to go up into the hills to fetch the water, at a level where they did not want it, and it cost them £1,000,000 to bring it into the plain; whereas, if they had brought it from below the hills, they could have brought it for £100,000."

The present system of administration of India being a Government by officials, practically unchecked by anyone, and all deeply imbued with the belief that their employment is necessary to the salvation of the country, it is only to be expected that the very calamities of India should be viewed by them as so many additional reasons for the creation of fresh well paid posts for themselves and their fellows. In this way India's very extremity has already proved its rulers' opportunity. The recent devastating famines have raised the idea in England that their recurrence is to be prevented, not, as would really be the case, by

CEASING TO DRAIN THE VERY LIFE BLOOD FROM THE PEOPLE,

but by an extension of irrigation in almost any sort of district and soil, and at almost any cost; and this has already proved a perfect mine of wealth in the shape of appointments and salaries. Even in the case of the very best of our irrigation canals, as already said, no record has been kept of the countless thousands of native wells which have been destroyed by them. Here is an extract from a letter, dated 6th September, 1878, from the Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, North-West Provinces, showing to what fantastic tricks, played by their European masters, the toiling millions of India are exposed: "The construction of the lower Ganges Canal, for a length of seventy-six miles *through a country already most*

[1] The italics throughout are Mr. Keay's.—Ed. *India*.

[2] Finances and Public Works of India, p. 16.

[3] Famine Commissioners' Report, Part II., pp. 124, 125.

*lavishly supplied with means of irrigation*, was only prevented by the care and foresight of Colonel Brownlow."[1]

In the Bombay Presidency the Government Irrigation Department have already spent £1,000,000 of capital, with the result that they irrigate only 15,400 acres. For this the Indian tax-payers have already been compelled to pay £249,000 as interest, besides making good a deficit of £26,000 for excess of working expenses over income. Obviously, on this work India is a heavy loser. In order to find the real gainers, it would be necessary to discover how much of this total of £1,275,000 was paid to Europeans, not only in interest as above, but in salaries and contracts. The only result of this lesson of failure is that *the Bombay Government now proposes to spend* £4,000,000 *more, in the same way, within the next five years.* For the Madras Irrigation Company India has recently borrowed £1,763,000, at an annual interest charge of £70,540, for the privilege of irrigating only 14,000 acres instead of about 250,000 acres as estimated. Yet the only advice given by Sir A. Cotton, as his lesson from the above failure, is a proposal *to spend in Madras something like* £50,000,000 *more in the same way within the next twenty years.*[2] The reason of the above failure was a very simple one. We took water to a soil which did not need it, and the net result to India is that her people now pay in taxation £70,000 yearly, and receive only a pittance of £6,000 in water dues, which is promptly wiped off in the salaries of six English Engineers, who are employed to keep the runious undertaking steadily going. For the Orissa Canal India has borrowed £2,300,000 to water 183,000 acres. For this she pays in taxation £93,500 yearly, and receives only £26,500 in water dues, all of which latter sum, except a mere fraction, is wiped off in European salaries, and other less important items of expenditure. For the Midnapore Canal India has borrowed £919,000. For it she pays in taxation £41,000 yearly, receiving in return £17,000 as fees, both for navigation and irrigation, all of which, and £3,000 more, disappear as usual in the salaries and expenses.

A great irrigation work called the Soane Canal is now well advanced in the province of Behar. For it India has already borrowed £2,450,000, for which she pays £110,000 yearly in taxation, receiving in return £53,000 in water rates, more than two-thirds of which are wiped off in expenses.

In this last case, however, the Indian officials have matured a design whereby they intend to make the work appear to pay, by means which amounnt to nothing less than

A GIGANTIC FRAUD UPON THE CULTIVATORS.

Out of the 1,110,000 acres of land proposed to be irrigated by the Soane works, the Chief Engineer, Colonel Haig, admits that "at least 500,000 acres are watered by wells." If the water of the Soane river were brought to these immense tracts, and offered to the ryots at the high price which alone would pay the interest on the vast cost of construction, the ryots would one and all would refuse it, and go on using the cheaper water of their own wells. How have the official placemen of our Indian Government contrived to get over this difficulty? They have first imposed a tax on these very cultivators, called the Bengal Public Works Cess, for the express object of paying the interest and expenses of working the Canal, and then, having in this way provided for these enormous expenses by taxation, they offer the cheated cultivator water for his fields at a price cheaper than it costs him to raise it from his own well, which thereupon falls into disuse. The triumphant success of the juggling scheme is then blandly recorded by the Irrigation Department in these words:—"The ryots universally abandon their wells *for the cheaper canal water!*"

The irrigation works in the North West of the Empire now appear fully to pay for their interest and working charges. No record is produced, however, of the tens of thousands of wells destroyed by them. Nor is it reckoned up in their accounts that, in the near future, they bid fair to destroy altogether the land they irrigate, by bringing the salt (*reh*) from the subsoil to the surface. Here is what Mr. A. O. Hume, the late Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Agriculture, says on the subject:—"Along the course of the mighty Ganges Canal, a work as it were but of yesterday, the dreary wintry-looking rime is already in many places creeping over the soil. The time must come when some of the richest arable tracts in Northern India will have become howling saline deserts."

[1] Famine Commission Report, Appendix V. Parliamentary Papers 3086—V. of 1881, p. 102.

[2] "Public Works in Madras," by Sir A. Cotton, 1881.

Sir Andrew Clarke, lately Minister of Public Works at Calcutta, thus admits the gravity of the impending danger:—"The Oosur plains and reh represent a serious loss of revenue to Government, the reh especially so, for it is found to spread in a most alarming way with the extension of irrigation."[1]

To the European officials, however, even this saline efflorescence, so calamitous to the land, will only prove an additional source of advantage, by leading to the creation of fresh appointments. Already a sum of £750,000 has been allotted to the Irrigation Department, to pay a large establishment to drain off from the land of the West Jumna Canal the salt efflorescence which its own works have caused.[2] With such facts facing them at every turn, no wonder that in 1878 the Government of the North West Provinces were forced to record the following lament:—"There are some canals which ought never to have been constructed, *and to defray the cost of which the agricultural wealth of the country has been drained.*"[3]

A very similar demonstration could be made with regard to railways; but space will not permit. Suffice it to say that

INDIA'S RAILWAYS

have been made, not as called for by its commercial demands, but simply in consequence of the fiat of its rulers. They have been

MADE ON A SCALE MUCH IN EXCESS OF REQUIREMENTS.

Vast sums of money have been wasted in their construction, and, as usual, quite an unnecessary amount of the loans raised for them, and their revenues have been and are still returned to the pockets of the governing class in the shape of salaries and expenses. And what have they done for the people, after all their cost? It has been said that they have brought English capital into the country, but in point of fact,

THEY HAVE CARRIED OFF TO ENGLAND MORE CAPITAL THAN THEY HAVE EVER BROUGHT.

Of the gigantic loans raised from time to time for Iudia's railways, the proceeds hardly touch her soil, before they are remitted back again to England. The brothers Strachey, in endeavouring to prove that railways had brought capital into the country, assert that, in the case of the guaranteed railways alone, "about £100,000,000 of capital has been raised *and spent in India*," while only "£5,000,000 yearly has to be paid in England as interest."[4] But the fact is that of the above principal sum of £100,000,000, no less than about £50,000,000 never entered India at all. The other £50,000,000 were indeed remitted to and spent in India, but, in the meantime, no less than £57,000,000 have been remitted back to England in the shape of interest, leaving in the country a positive deficit of £7,000,000, instead of a surplus of £100,000,000. Of a similar character is the boast of the optimists that, because £50,000,000 are spent in India in "wages or other working expenses," that expenditure affords increased profitable occupation to the people of the country.[5] Not only is a great part of this sum paid to Europeans, as salaries, and for purchase of English stores, but the balance only represents a small part of

THE LOSS, ESTIMATED AT SOMETHING LIKE £40,000,000 YEARLY, INCURRED BY THE NATIVE CARRIERS

through the destruction of their trade. In consequence of their dividends being guaranteed by the State, and paid during many years from taxation, *the railways have been enabled to carry goods and passengers at losing rates*, and so to extinguish the native carriers. In the same way, by artificially lowering the cost of English goods in the interior, through unduly cheap transit, they have killed, and are still killing, the native manufactures. On the other hand, they have created and compelled a vast and losing export trade, first, to pay for the English manufactures, and second, to pay for the drain to foreigners for interest on capital, cost of English stores, salaries, &c., which they themselves create. The combined results have, therefore, been, on the one hand, largely to increase the annual drain from the country, and, on the other, to deprive of subsistence the great carrying and manufacturing classes of the people. Against these enormous drawbacks the only small advantage gained by the people consists in the slight saving effected in the price of the English goods, which have ousted their own manufactures. Where, in all this, is there a scintillation of a balance of advantage to the inhabitants of India, or proof of their enrichment? The chief *raison d'etre*

[1] Famine Commission Report, Appendix V., p. 108.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[4] Finances and Public Works of India, p. 315.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

of these railways, according to the apologists themselves, is to quicken the imports and exports, especially the latter. It has been already demonstrated in a previous essay that

THE GROWTH OF INDIA'S EXPORTS,

under her present political system,

IS ONLY THE GROWTH OF HER LOSS,

inasmuch as she gets back only about one-half their value. Some other reason, therefore, must be shown in favour of the extension of railways in India. "We will show you such reason," says the optimist. "Is there not an increase in the breadth of cultivation, and is there not a rise of prices?" There is such an increase and there is such a rise; but they do not denote prosperity. Ruined by our railways, both carriers and weavers are compelled, in very penury, to fall back upon the soil; the competition for holdings increases; rent rises, and poor lands are *perforce* brought under cultivation. The assessment is raised all round, and along with it the price of produce rises by a well-known law. And thus another of the signs of privation by a starving peasantry furnishes increased profit to the public purse of our despotic rulers, and is extolled as conclusive evidence of prosperity.

The foregoing evidence furnishes sufficient explanation of the causes which have reduced the people of India to

THEIR PRESENT STATE OF EXTREME POVERTY, WANT, AND MISERY.

The poverty is admitted by their optimist rulers themselves in their unbiassed moments, though, strangely enough, they are unaware that they have had any hand in producing it. Even General Richard Strachey, one of the most self-satisfied of the optimists, exclaimed as follows before the Finance Committee: "Consider the general poverty of India (and nobody who has not been in India can really appreciate that). Consider *the total absence of anything like accumulated wealth in India.*"

In 1871 Mr. Grant Duff, in a speech in the House of Commons, announced that a careful estimate gave only £2 per annum as the average income of every person in British India; and Lord Mayo adopted the estimate as correct in a speech in the Council at Calcutta a few weeks afterwards. Only about eighteen months ago (*i.e.*, in 1882) the Government of India, in a despatch deprecating India's being charged with a share of the Egyptian War expenses, besought the Secretary of State to consider the "poverty of the people, and their consequent inability to bear taxation," adding the words—"The poverty of the people of India is a fact which is notorious. By rough calculation the average income per head of population is only Rs. 27 a year."

Such being the average income of the whole country, including the upper classes, how miserable must be the pittance possessed by the masses of the people. We may divide the population of 254,000,000, with its average income of £2 per head, into any ranks we please. Shall we say there are

10,000 princes, nobles, and landowners, possessing incomes of £5,000 each;

75,000 bankers, merchants, &c., with incomes averaging £1,000 each, and

750,000 traders, shopkeepers, &c., with £100 each.

The remainder will be 253,165,000 persons with only £1 per head annually!

Our expensive alien Government is now supported by

COLLECTING A VAST REVENUE IN HALF-PENCE FROM THESE FAMISHED MULTITUDES,

who, in any other State in the world, would be let off as paupers. In order to justify this grinding policy, the ordinary principle, that the people should pay for their government, *in proportion to their means of livelihood*, is thrown to the winds by our officials, and the inhuman doctrine is asserted *that these pauper masses are specially bound to contribute to the revenue in consequence of their very poverty*, because "they, far more than the rich, are dependent on good government for their comfort and happiness!"[1]

Mr. Halliday, of the Bengal Civil Service, in his report on the Cawnpore assessment, ten years ago, wrote as follows:—"I assert that the abject poverty of the average cultivator of Cawnpore is beyond the belief of any one who has not seen it. He is simply a slave to the soil, to the zemindar, to the usurer, and to the Government."

About the same time the following description of the condition of the people of the North-West Provinces was somehow allowed to appear in that optimist work, published by the India Office, called a Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of

[1] "John Indigo," in the *National Review*, of September last.

India:—"In the North-West Provinces, after the payment of rent, the margin left for the cultivator's subsistence is less than the value of the labour he has expended on his land. The wages of a labourer in the ploughing season furnish him with fifty ounces of Behjur, a compound of barley and peas, of which about 46 ounces are nutritious. In the digging and weeding season he only gets 34 ounces. *He only tastes salt two or three times a week.* Many live on a coarse grain, which is most unwholesome, and produces loin palsy. The small tenant farmers only get about the same amount of Behjur, *although they can have salt daily.*"[1]

In order to realize the full severity of this abject state, it is only necessary to point to an admission made by the Famine Commissioners, namely, that while the price of the food of the labouring class in India is as high as that of the Negroes in the late Slave States of America, *the wages of the former are only one-eighth part as large as those of the latter!*

The Indian peasantry are, in fact, helpless within our grasp. Whatever be their state, whatever pittance they receive, they cannot throw up their land, as long as life is left to them, for they have nowhere else to go. Tied to the soil by religious and domestic customs,

CUT OFF BY PENURY FROM GRATIFYING ALL CIVILIZED WANTS,

debarred from expenditure on their own social and religious duties, the half-starved peasantry *perforce* grow wheat or cotton for the foreigner at starvation wages. Starvation wages mean cheap production. The export trade is quickened, and, presto! the result of

THE LEGALIZED SLAVERY OF STARVING MILLIONS

is pointed to as still another sign of increasing prosperity.

A large share of the land revenue now paid to the Government represents no surplus produce extracted from the soil, but merely fresh debts incurred by the cultivators. The following is from the Administration Report of the North-West Provinces for 1877-78:—"That much of the money paid into the State treasury by the landlords *was borrowed from money lenders*, the great increase in the numbers of documents registered would tend to show."

A whole volume of evidence could be adduced to prove that, as in the instance just cited, the increase of the stamp revenue is a direct indication of the ruin of the people. Nevertheless, as usual, the official optimists dangle it before the English people as still another most convincing proof of advancing wealth. The Returns of Moral and Material Progress for the last few years teem with such statements as these:—

"In Bombay the increase in non-judicial stamps *resulted from the general improvement of trade.*"

"In the Punjaub the increase under commercial stamps *was attributed to the general prosperity.*"

"In Assam *the rapid development of the resources of the country* has contributed greatly to the improvement of the stamp revenue."

An attempt, both inconclusive and illogical, is made to argue the ability of the people to pay their revenue to us to-day, from their alleged ability to pay a larger revenue to the Moguls two hundred years ago. A Venetian doctor, named Manucci, coming from Aurungzebe's capital, communicated to a worthless French historian named Catrou a statement of Aurungzebe's revenue. It was compiled by a system of enumeration consisting of a "series of signs, a very terror to young students," with symptoms of incorrect transmutation of the lower figures,[2] and with a grave doubt existing even as to what was the currency—the "single dam" or "double dam"—in which the revenue was calculated. Our official apologists straightway assume the double and not the single dam to have been the actual currency, and, disregarding official documents which prove that only twenty years earlier the same prince's revenues were certainly not more than half that figure, they at once assert, as a fact proved and incontestable, that "the detailed estimate of Aurungzebe's revenue in 1707 was £77,500,000 net,"[3] and then they proceed to felicitate the British ryot on possessing a paternal Government which taxes him only half as severely.

The most alarming feature of the position is that,

OUR OVER-TAXATION AND FOREIGN DRAIN

having already seriously entrenched not only on the income, but on the capital, of the country, its ability to sustain the burden is yearly diminishing, in ever increasing ratio, even if

[1] Parliamentary Papers, Moral and Material Progress of India, 1872-3.

[2] Thomas' Revenue Resources of the Mogul Empire, pp. 44, 45.

[3] John Indigo in the *National Review* for September, 1883; also "The Indian Empire," by Sir W. W. Hunter, p. 253.

that burden be not increased. It has been already mentioned, on the authority of Sir W. W. Hunter, that, owing to the want of manure, land, which in the time of Akbar yielded 1,140 lbs., now only yields 840 lbs. per acre. With regard to the Madras Presidency, Mr. Robertson, Superintendent of the Government Experimental Farm, in a recent lecture before the Society of Arts, said: "Experienced men positively assert that the deterioration of the soil during the last thirty years has been *no less than thirty per cent.*"

Evidence of an equally alarming character is given, both by Sir James Caird and Mr. A. O. Hume, late Secretary to the Agricultural Department of the Indian Government. Here is the verdict of the latter: "That the gradual and, perhaps, later, suddenly rapid deterioration of the major portion of our cultivated lands is, unless a totally new system be inaugurated, inevitably impending, can be denied by no one conversant with the subject. Owing to a variety of causes, agriculture in India has become, and becomes daily, more and more what Liebig has happily designated a system of spoliation. It is clear that a time must arrive when, by continually taking a great deal and putting back very little, both purse and soil are exhausted."[1]

It is not difficult to understand why this deterioration of the soil is now going on faster than before; for, under the grasping rules of the new Revenue Settlement, as already shown, all fallows, which formerly paid no tax to Government, are now charged land revenue, just the same as if they were cultivated. The inevitable result must be the "dead lock" prophesied by Sir J. Caird.

It is well known that the principal capital and stock in trade of the Indian cultivator consist of his cattle. Regarding this fact Mr. A. O. Hume writes: "It is not too much to say that one half of the whole capitalized wealth of ninety-nine hundredths of the whole population of India is to be found in their cattle." As the ryot has now too little food for himself, his cattle get no grain whatever. They are also deprived of grazing land, by the absence of fallows, and by the action of the misnamed Forest Department, and so it will excite no surprise that, as stated by Mr. Geddes to the Finance Committee, "the Indian cattle are degenerating in breed from stint of food." They are also diminishing in numbers, so much so, that already there are too few bullocks for the ordinary ploughing, not to speak of the manuring, of the soil. The necessary conclusion follows, namely, that, if the present system is continued,

THE AGRICULTURAL SUPPLIES OF INDIA MUST SOON FALL SHORT OF FEEDING THE PEOPLE,

or sustaining the burden of the Government. Sir James Caird has placed this fact plainly before the officials in his Report on the condition of India, and forewarned them of "*the inevitable catastrophe.*"[2] Nevertheless, so great is the desire to conceal the appalling truth, that they are even at this moment prepared to take the chance of a miracle being wrought in their favour, rather than face the exposure of an enquiry. They even think that they already detect signs of kind Nature expediting her chemical processes, so that the Indian soil may dispense with manure altogether, and go on yielding crop after crop indefinitely, with the special object of defraying the cost of British domination. Accordingly, on 8th June, 1880, we find the Government of India thus rejecting Sir J. Caird's solemn warning as to the result of the disuse of fertilizers, *and announcing their intention to go on without them*: "Some presumption does, perhaps, exist that, where no return, or no sufficient return, is made to the soil, a process of exhaustion goes on, at first quickly and afterwards more slowly. But, on the other hand, it is maintained by many scientific men that, *after a certain limit is reached, that process goes on no longer, but the natural decomposition of the component parts of the soil replaces the loss of the fertilising elements.*"[3]

In point of fact the outlook could not be blacker. Yet there is no hope of any move on the part of the officials, who indulge optimist hopes, and all come and go without any one of them being really responsible for the future fate of the country. Would they dare to ventilate the truth by convening annual assemblies of representative ryots, elected by the different districts, as is done at this moment in the Mysore State? Will they dare themselves to prepare statistics as to the manuring of the land, the absence of fallows, and the reduction in crops and cattle? In one province—the Punjab—an enumeration of cattle in 1874 proved that a reduction of no less than 3½ per cent. had taken place during the previous five years. Do our rulers desire, or do they fear, to know the truth? Let them explain why they avoid all attempts to make an Industrial Survey, showing the yearly produce of the land, the source of all the sustenance of India. The cost of such a survey would be but trifling. The materials for it are at this moment ready to their hands, in the records of every village. Why do they persistently obstruct all efforts to furnish such a census? Is it not because, as a great authority among themselves, Sir Henry Maine, has detected, "*Indian Governments find their account in obscurity?*"[1] A most damning indictment to this effect has been brought against them by no less an authority than Sir Louis Mallet, the recently retired permanent Under Secretary of State for India. In a Minute, dated 3rd February, 1875, which appears at page 134 of Appendix I. of the Famine Commission Report, he writes:—

"If there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. *Now, I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found a strong repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts.* THE ONLY OCCASION ON WHICH I HAD THE MISFORTUNE OF ENCOUNTERING THE VEHEMENT OPPOSITION OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, WAS IN MY ADVOCACY OF DR. FORBES WATSON'S PROPOSALS FOR AN INDUSTRIAL SURVEY."[2]

Why did these members of the Indian Council resist such a Survey? Why do they do so still? There is only one answer. Because it would show such

AN APPALLING PICTURE OF POVERTY AND DECADENCE

under their administration, that, on a revelation of the heart-rending sufferings of scores of millions of helpless human beings, the English nation would rise as one man, and overturn their whole system.

It is this state of crushing poverty, and not any abnormal features of climate or rainfall, which makes famines more severe and recurrent than in earlier times. The Hindu Prime Minister of the Indore State, in his published "Memorandum on Famines in India," distinctly traces their recurrence to the decadence caused by our administration. He thus enumerates past famines:—"In the fourteenth century there was only one famine in India. In the fifteenth century it was the same. In the seventeenth century there were two famines. In the eighteenth there were eight famines. In seventy-seven years of the nineteenth century there were more than twelve famines. I am told there have been eighteen."

What, then, does a modern Indian famine mean? Simply this, that, taxed to an extent quite disproportionate to their yearly decreasing crops, the people are now too poor to retain and eat the produce of their own soil, which goes to the foreigner in payment of the taxes, while

THE POORER CLASSES OF THE INHABITANTS ARE LEFT TO DIE.

Yet we are told never to forget that the enlarged exports of India are unanswerable proofs of its prosperity.

The official optimists attempt to answer all such strictures by pointing to the fact that the population of India is still increasing at the rate of about one per cent. per annum. In doing this, however, they ignore the fact that no amount of mere poverty and privation, unless acting concurrently with some other cause, has ever stopped the increase of population in any settled country. The reason apparently is that when, under privation, the adults of a nation die young, by some compensating law puberty also takes place at an earlier age, and reproduction is stimulated more than among well-fed and long-lived communities.

A truer test of prosperity or privation than the mere increase of population is to be found in the *death rate* of India. Although the registration of deaths is still very imperfect, this death rate is already known to be something appalling, being not far from double that of Great Britain. The following is from the *Pioneer* of 7th February, 1880, a journal well known to be the organ of the English official class in India:—"The hired labourer is always on the verge of starvation. Out of the 190,000,000 in British India labourers are estimated at 30,000,000. Last year after the heavy rainfall there was frightful mortality from fever, according to the recent sanitary report an increase of over 900,000 on the average rate of mortality. There would appear to be a good deal of truth in the opinion of one officer, who reported that *the disease is aggravated by want of food,*

[1] "Agricultural Reform in India." By A. O. Hume.
[2] Parliamentary Papers, 2,732 of 1880, p. 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[1] Parliamentary Papers, 3,086-1, p. 142.
[2] Parliamentary Papers, 3,086-1, p. 134.

*which at all times prevails amongst the lowest classes.*" Four days later, the same journal wrote as follows:—"It is obvious that the improved registration of deaths is disclosing to the Government a condition of affairs among the people, *and a liability to suffer from high prices, of which there was formerly but little knowledge.*"

What does all this mean, except that the unexampled death rate of British India is caused by continual slow starvation among the masses of the people? The Bombay Government admits an annual death rate of 35 per thousand, totally irrespective of famine. The Madras authorities admit 36, and the Central Provinces confess to a rate "probably higher."[1] *So great is the mortality among adults, that* AT THIS MOMENT CONSIDERABLY MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE WHOLE POPULATION OF BRITISH INDIA CONSISTS OF CHILDREN UNDER 12 YEARS OF AGE! A discovery of this fact struck even the official members of the Famine Commission with horror. They alluded to it as follows:—"The high ratio of children to adults is indicative of high rates of reproduction AND MORTALITY."[2] And, in placing the annual average death rate for the whole of British India at 35 per 1,000, *and in several cities at over* 100 *per* 1,000, the Commissioners concluded by exclaiming—"Appalling as it may seem that five millions of people should die, in two years, of famine, *it is no less appalling that the normal death rate of the entire empire should be, as seems probable,* MUCH HIGHER THAN IT NEED BE."

It is eminently characteristic that, even in the solemn circumstances under which the above Report was framed, the besetting sin of an alien officialism did not fail to show itself. The only recommendation made by the Famine Commissioners was the establishment of a Sanitary Department, directed by a fresh staff of European officers on liberal salaries, to travel about looking for defects in the drains of the starving villagers! It never occurred to them to account for the "appalling" mortality, by referring to Sir W. Hunter's evidence of the chronic starvation, even in years of plenty, of at least 40,000,000 of the population.[3]

It may be pertinently asked, If the foreign drain from the people of India now largely exceeds their net annual income, how has the difference been met hitherto, and how is it met at the present day. The answer is that the difference has been supplied, partly, as already shown, by robbing the soil, partly by increased toil and stinting hardship of the people, and partly by the disappearance of past accumulations of capital. It may not be generally known that among the accumulations of former wealth, on which we have been drawing, India not long ago possessed a gold currency, which has gradually and completely disappeared. The brothers Strachey themselves certify to this as follows:—"Towards the end of the last century gold coins circulated freely, with silver, in most parts of Bengal, *and about half the revenue was paid in gold.* Forty years ago gold coins were still to be found in use in some of the districts of Madras. *Gold, however, everywhere gradually went out of circulation, and for a great many years has, for all practical purposes, ceased to be employed as money.*"[4]

The means then, by which, amidst its own bankruptcy, India has managed to maintain the solvency of its alien government, may be summed up as follows:—

Less fallows;<br>
Less manure for the soil;<br>
Less food for the people;<br>
Less fuel for cooking the single meal;<br>
Less food for cattle;<br>
Less labour devoted to house-building and other industries not directly necessary to produce crops;<br>
Fewer and fewer cattle;<br>
A smaller and smaller dole set aside for religious duties, and for occasions of joy and sorrow;<br>
Fewer and fewer ornaments;<br>
Less leisure;<br>
More debt;<br>
Fewer clothes;<br>
More death.

"And they cried, O Lord! how long?"

Yet another question may be asked. If our rule has proved a source of such dire impoverishment and suffering, how comes it that so large a mass of human beings is found submitting passively to such a galling yoke?

There are many circumstances which have contributed hitherto to the maintenance of our rule, in spite of the sufferings it causes. The chief of these may be enumerated as follows:—

1. The peculiarly amiable and law-abiding character of the people, and the extraordinary patience they evince under the most acute privations.
2. The fact that our Government have secured a monopoly of artillery without which no modern army could take the field.
3. The fact that all wisdom, whether political, administrative, or military, gained in the administration, is monopolised by aliens, and perpetually carried off by them from the country.
4. The fact that, thus ostracised from political intelligence, all native ability has been atrophied for several generations, and that India now presents the unique spectacle of a vast nation cut off from all the opportunities which bring reforming leaders to the front. The result is that the masses, without leaders, feel the pressure growing tighter, but only partially understand what is its cause.
5. The fact that we are admirable organisers and scientific adjusters of financial burdens, so that we insidiously grasp a greater share of the people's substance than they are aware of.
6. The real fairness wherewith we exact, not from one, but from all the agricultural classes, as much as they possibly can pay, thereby obviating all local jealousies.
7. The personal character for purity which our officers are justly enabled to sustain in the minds of the people, their extortions being all legalised, and carried on on behalf of the public treasury, and not for their own individual good.
8. The sense of irresistible force generated in Indian minds by the fact that it has fallen to our lot to introduce to them the appliances of steam machinery, and other embodiments of power, which impress the imagination.
9. Our endless protestations of principle, and ingenuity of extenuation. The unremitting strain of general self-laudation indulged in by our officers, to the effect that they are always acting for the benefit of the people of India, and never for the interest or advantage of their own class.
10. The ever present wistful belief that a man like Lord Ripon may at any time be sent from England as their ruler, directly commissioned by the English nation to overturn the existing system of officialdom, and give them new hope in the depth of their distress.

For all these reasons the people will undoubtedly suffer the pangs of poverty and hunger to a lower point than would any other nation, before they rise, if indeed we wait until they rise, and destroy

A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

which, in spite of many ameliorating features, and notwithstanding a true desire for India's good entertained by many of its members, yet, accompanied as it is by slow depletion and starvation, is, as a whole,

THE MOST SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL TORTURE THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN.

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[1] Famine Commission Report, Part II., p. 89.

[2] Famine Commission Report, Part II., p. 87.

[3] "England's Work in India," by Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.I.E., p. 40.

[4] "Finances and Public Works of India," p. 382.

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The Great Indian Problem.—An increase of thirty millions of inhabitants in ten years! That is the startling fact presented to England by the Indian census returns. It means that the responsibility rests upon this country of providing work and food for three million additional people every year in Hindustan alone. For there were no abnormal causes at work during the past decade to account for exceptional increase of population. India had a fair average of pestilence, famine, and war; not to the same extent, no doubt, as in ancient times, but as much as seems likely to occur in the future. British wisdom had better at once begin to consider the momentous problem of how to check over-crowding in India. Three millions a year! It is a frightful figure, and involves a frightful responsibility. —*Globe* (Conservative).

A Great Famine Looming Ahead.—There is a great famine looming ahead in India. According to the census just taken the population has increased since 1881 by thirty millions, and now amounts to two hundred and eighty-five millions. An occasional flood may reduce this enormous population a trifle, but failing an earthquake or a murderous war the millions will keep growing. That they will outstrip the means of existence is almost as certain—for India—as the rising of the sun. A famine is what we see beneath the census returns—unless statesmanship can increase the food supplies of the peninsula.—*Evening News and Post* (Conservative).

# INDIAN GOVERNMENT STATISTICS AND STATEMENTS.

## ARE THEY TRUSTWORTHY?

### SAMPLES OF SUFFERING AND SEVERE RACK-RENTING.

It is not without considerable regret we find ourselves now and again compelled to throw a doubt upon the *bonâ fides* and trustworthiness of some Indian official documents. The intention of making statements respecting facts square with preconceived theories is too often obvious. So glaring an example of this kind of misrepresentation has recently come under our notice that we are compelled to draw attention to it, and to ask how far such things are habitual.

As Lord Dufferin's period of rule was drawing to a close, his British conscience began to trouble him concerning the condition of the people under his governance. Sir William Hunter's forty millions of starving folk, Sir Charles Elliott's admission respecting the never-ceasing hunger of half the agricultural population, and other observations of a like kind, combined with the political fervour which the National Congress was causing, made Lord Dufferin uncomfortable. Just before his last year of office began—that is, on August 17, 1887—the Viceroy issued a circular in which he said: "The attention of the Government of India having been called to the frequency with which the assertion has been repeated that the greater proportion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food, it is considered desirable to ascertain whether this impression is wholly untrue or partially true; and in the latter case, to attain some idea of the extent to which it is so, and how far any remedial measures can be suggested." So far as can be ascertained at the time when the above sentence was written, nobody has said that "the greater proportion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food"—that is to say over one hundred millions were daily hungry and unfed the year through: now, however, this is being said, and said, too, with a good show of authority. Lord Dufferin ordered that "an inquiry should be quietly and confidentially instituted by the Department of Land Records and Agriculture in communication with selected officials of experience and judgment, care being taken that whatever evidence is brought forward should be of a positive and trustworthy character."

The inquiry was made. In October, 1888, fifteen months after the instructions were given, and two months before Lord Dufferin left India, a Resolution was published. While not denying there was suffering, the Resolution declared there was no occasion for undue alarm. We are not, however, to-day, concerned with the Resolution, but with Appendix A., which professes to consist of a "*Précis* of the Reports received on the inquiry made into the condition of the lower classes of the population." The Reports themselves have never been published. They are marked "Confidential." In response to a request by the late Mr. Bradlaugh for their publication the Secretary of State for India laid the volumes (or some of them—the Madras volume, for example, is not included) on the Table of the House of Commons, and they can be consulted in the Library of the Legislature. On p. 80, Appendix A. the following paragraph respecting the district of Etah in the North-West Provinces appears:—"Mr. Crooke, Collector of Etah (area 1,739 square miles; population 756,528), whose peculiar knowledge of agricultural life lends a great value to his remarks, considers the peasantry to be a robust, apparently well-fed, population, and dressed in a manner which quite comes up to their traditional ideas of comfort. In spite of the abnormally high price of food-grains, there has been no sudden increase of offences against poverty [*sic.*, ? property], nor did the number of beggars seem unusually great. Mr. Crooke does not believe that anything like a large percentage of the people in Etah, or in any other district of the Provinces, is habitually under-fed. There are times, of course, when the small cultivator and field labourer do suffer privation; but this is a very different thing from habitual privation. Indebtedness is prevalent, but the fact seems to be that with the agricultural classes a normal state of indebtedness is quite consistent with the possibility of passing a life of comparative comfort." This is what the Government of India wishes the public interested in the condition of the people to believe Mr. Crooke, "whose peculiar knowledge of agricultural life lends a great value to his remarks," said, and that it is a fair summary of his views. Our readers shall judge. Mr. Crooke, it is true, did use the expressions abstracted in the summary quoted, but he said a great deal more, and gave illustrations which wholly remove the impression his comments (as given) are intended to create. We quote from Mr. Crooke exactly in the order in which his remarks appear in the Report from the North-West Provinces.

### EXAMPLE I.

### A FEW OF MR. CROOKE'S FACTS.

1. (P. 21). "The following estimate is the result of a recent meeting of the most experienced cultivators and agents of the Raja of Awa [the estate of a great land-owner managed by the North-West Government]. I collected them together and asked them to make an estimate of the income and expenditure of a man—owner of one pair of oxen, and a single plough, and cultivating a patch of average land irrigated from a well. The following was the result. The holding of such a tenant would be ten *pucka* bighas, or about 5½ acres. This would be cropped half in the rabi, and half in the kharif. The crops grown, out-turn, and value of the produce of such a holding would be approximately as follows":—

| *Income.* | Rs. | a. | p. | *Expenditure.* | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kharif Harvest | 129 | 8 | 0 | Rent .. .. | 75 | 0 | 0 |
| Rabi Harvest .. | 84 | 8 | 0 | Seed-grain .. | 13 | 8 | 0 |
| | | | | Other Expenses .. | 77 | 10 | 0 |
| | | | | Balance .. .. | 45 | 14 | 0 |
| Total Rs. | 214 | 0 | 0 | Total Rs. | 214 | 0 | 0 |

Mr. Crooke, then, unfairly, proceeds to suppose that a family of four only (five is the lowest average which should be taken) have to subsist on this Rs. 45 14a. per annum—that is Rs. 11½ each (or, in English money, seventeen shillings per head for a whole year), and adds: The family "would consume three seers of grain per diem, which, at an average cost of 25 seers per rupee, would be Rs. 43 per annum." At the time Mr. Crooke reports, however, grain was only 17 seers per rupee! He adds: "Clothes for the family would cost Rs. 8." The cultivator's "expenditure thus on the absolute necessaries of life would be about Rs. 51 per annum; thus resulting in

AN ANNUAL DEFICIT OF ABOUT Rs. 5."

But, in that year, the deficit was—judging from food-prices—nearly Rs. 20, and, let the reader carefully remark, no provision is made for salt (at least five annas per head per annum should be expended), ghi, or condiments, or relishes of any kind with which to flavour an exclusively vegetable and tasteless diet. It is true Mr. Crooke proceeds to speak of the products which might be obtained from a buffalo, but, in his detailed estimate, he makes no allowance for the purchase or keep of a buffalo; he also alludes to the vegetables with which the food mentioned may be eked out.

The careful inquiry respecting these small landholders, each with a well and a pair of bullocks, and each cultivating five and a-half acres of land, shows that even in a good year, they

ARE STEADILY SUBMERGED, HAVING NOT ENOUGH FOR FOOD AND WARM CLOTHING.

In a bad year, their condition must be most terrible. Yet with these facts in the very fore-front of his report, Mr. Crooke is quoted as fully satisfied with the condition of the people! In such fashion are statements prepared when the parties responsible for the things described are themselves the reporters, and when there is no public with power to call them to account.

2. (P. 22). "Comparing the periods before and after the Mutiny, there has been a rise of 45 per cent. in grain, 52 per cent. in bejhar (barley and peas), and 38 per cent. in jaur." Of course, if all the grain, or a large portion, were grown for export, prosperity would seem to have marked out the cultivator for its own. But very, very little is exported; the grain is grown for home consumption and to pay the heavy Government rent. The grain

does not go farther in payment of rent now than it did forty years ago owing to "the considerable enhancements of rent which followed the current settlements in this and neighbouring districts." That is to say, if any benefit accrued from increasing prices the Government took it.

3. (P. 23). ". . . . . the assertion which is universally believed by natives, that

THE CULTIVATOR IS NOT SO WELL OFF NOWADAYS,

as at the time of the Mutiny." No doubt many causes are at work. "(1) The action of the Civil Courts; (2) the weakening of the soil by over-cropping under the stimulus of canal irrigation; (3) the excessive growth of the population under our rule of peace; and, (4) the rise in rents, combined with the breaking up of inferior lands may be all factors in the problem." Nos. 1 and 2 are distinctly faults of administration; as to No. 3, for thirteen years prior to 1881 (latest Census figures available), there was no increase of population; the fourth reason is one which the Government might have obviated if they had paid due regard to Indian industries, and had not thrown all but an infinitesimal proportion of the people on the soil.

4. (P. 28). As to clothes, "the women and children are much worse off than the men.

IT IS UNUSUAL TO FIND A VILLAGE WOMAN WHO HAS ANY WRAPS AT ALL.

Most of them have to pass the night as best they can in their day clothes—a cotton petticoat, wrapper, and bodice. As a rule they and their children sleep, in the cold weather, during the warm afternoons and the early hours of the night, and

FROM MIDNIGHT TO DAWN COWER OVER A FIRE OF RUBBISH

in the yard of the dwelling-house."

5. (P. 29). "It would be foolish optimism to deny that there are times and seasons when the small cultivator and field labourer suffer privation. This has been only too common recently."

6. *Prevalence of Fever due to bad construction of canals and defective drainage and to insufficient and unsuitable food* (p. 31). "This prevalence of fever and other diseases which originate in malaria, implies a considerable prevalence of sickness and low health, with disability to perform agricultural work. It is hardly too much to say that

A GREAT MAJORITY OF THE RURAL POPULATION PASS THROUGH AT LEAST ONE OR TWO ATTACKS OF FEVER DURING THE YEAR:

in fact in many cases the disease has a tendency to become chronic or constitutional. In many villages in the most malarious tracts the interruption to work produced by these causes is very serious. There is also evidence that

THIS PREVALENCE OF MALARIA IS OF RECENT GROWTH,

and is coincident with the development of canal irrigation followed by a rise of the water-level in the sub-soil. This can only be remedied by large and costly works of drainage—a subject which is yearly becoming more pressing. It is obvious that the general question of the general health of the population is closely connected with the special question now under consideration. The prevalence of disease and ill-health may, it is true, be attributed more to defective sanitation and water-logging of the sub-soil than to deficient nutrition; but it is obvious that food which, in nature and quantity, may be perfectly suitable to a man in vigorous health, may be the very reverse to a person who is exposed to periodical attacks of fever and ague, and the *malaise* and lowness of health and spirits which are the usual concomitants of the disease. Thus, for instance, bread made of barley or bejhar, is, on the high authority of Dr. Parkes, 'either from its laxitive qualities or from the imperfect separation of the sharp husks, particularly unsuited to dysenteric cases,' which is in this district one of the common sequelæ of fever."

SAMPLE CULTIVATORS WITH THEIR RECORD OF RACK-RENTING.

7. (P. 31, 32). Rup Ram, Brahmin, aged sixty years, cultivates seventeen acres.

*Balance Sheet for* 1887-8.

| *Receipts.* | Rs. | a. | p. | *Expenditure.* | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kharif Harvest | 175 | 0 | 0 | Rent .. .. | 306 | 0 | 0 |
| Rabi Harvest .. | 146 | 9 | 0 | Seed-grain . | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Sale of Ghi . | 20 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Total Rs | 341 | 9 | 0 | Total Rs. | 356 | 0 | 0 |

There is thus an adverse balance of Rs. 14 7a. 4p. before a single mouthful of grain is provided for food! See the terrible rack-rent which the man had to pay, *and did pay*. After making allowance for bare food (without condiments) and clothing, Mr. Crooke says:—"Thus their expenditure exceeded their income by Rs. 138 9a., to recoup which they have to borrow, or sell their ornaments." Sir John Gorst says the Indian Government never rack-rent their tenants. What explanation has he to offer of this sweeping away 95 per cent. of the yield for rent? Sir James Fergusson thinks this case is all right because the rent was paid. How the money or grain was obtained to keep the cultivator and his family alive, or whether they were kept alive, is, apparently, a matter of no concern to—

(1) The Collector of Etah.
(2) Sir Auckland Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces.
(3) The Government of India.
(4) The India Office.
(5) The House of Commons.

All of them are utterly callous and heedless.

In this family, it is to be noted, there is only one little child, the household consisting of three men, two women, and one girl. In the further instances to be quoted this same feature will be observed: small families or no families at all.

8. (Pp. 33, 34). Bakhsha, Chamar, aged forty-five. Cultivates seven acres.

*Balance Sheet for* 1887-8.

| *Income.* | Rs. | a. | p. | *Expenditure.* | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kharif Harvest | 12 | 0 | 0 | Diet expenses .. | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Rabi Harvest .. | 73 | 0 | 0 | Rent .. .. | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Sale of Ghi .. | 15 | 0 | 0 | Seed-grain .. | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Sale of cow-dung | 2 | 0 | 0 | Food for animals | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Agricultural implements .. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Household Furniture .. .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Marriage and funeral expenses .. .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Clothing .. .. | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Rs. | 102 | 0 | 0 | Total Rs. | 124 | 0 | 0 |

"Thus their expenditure exceeds their income by Rs. 22, *which they have to recoup by incurring debts.*" It may be that the oxen which treadeth out the corn shall not be muzzled, but it is quite clear that the Indian cultivators shall not keep soul and body together out of the land they cultivate. If, as Regulations and Resolutions declare shall be done, the State landlord had, in this case, remitted half or two-thirds of the rent, the cultivators could, without falling into the clutches of the money-lender, have at least had food enough to eat. The family consists of one adult, one minor, two women, and one girl. The girl is of marriageable age, and, possibly, Rs. 20 will be spent on her marriage.

9. (Pp. 35, 36). Of the family of Cheta, aged thirty-five, who are cultivators and labourers, it is declared their earnings are Rs. 50 per year (four in family—Rs. 12¼ per head), their household furniture worth less than two shillings, and when wheat is produced in their fields they do not eat it, but "sell it for purchasing for their food grain of lower quality, and for payment of their rent."

10. (Pp. 36, 37). Asa, aged fifty, a weaver, five in family, two men, two women, one girl.

| *Income.* | Rs. | a. | p. | *Expenditure.* | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average income from weaving cloth .. .. | 48 | 0 | 0 | Food .. .. | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Repayment of loan | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Clothing .. .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Rs. | 48 | 0 | 0 | Total Rs. | 49 | 0 | 0 |

Here, again, there is actually less than Rs. 10 (English, 15s.) per head per annum for all purposes.

11. (Pp. 50, 51). Parsi, Lodha, aged sixty-two, labourer, earns Rs. 16 per annum, his daughter for grinding grain earns Rs. 11 4a. The joint income is Rs. 27 4a., which is just enough to buy two seers of grain a day, *and leaves nothing for any other purpose.* "No children are to be married: he had one son and four daughters, who have been all married. Through poverty in the marriage of his daughters, he had recourse to a less formal way of marriage, viz., *dola, i.e.*, he went to the house of the daughter's intended husband and consummated the marriage by giving only a small sum of Rs. 5 or Rs. 6."

12. (Pp. 55, 56). Of NEWAL SINGH, cultivator of twenty-four acres (for which he pays Rs. 214 rent), and cart-owner, it is shown that he can save Rs. 25 a year; but, somewhat inconsequentially, it is added: "Generally, he is not able to spare grain for sowing at either of the two harvests; he has to borrow it from the mahajun, having had to pay interest of two annas per rupee for every half year [25 per cent. per annum], and in calculating the value of grain to allow a reduction of one seer in the current price rate at the time of borrowing, and an increase of one seer at repaying."

13. (Pp. 59, 60). In the case of JHABNA, oilman caste, aged forty-five, cultivator and cart-owner, it is shown that he ought to make a saving of Rs. 43 per annum, and it is added: "He owes Rs. 600 of debt. . . . . He attributes these debts to decrease in the produce of his land and to family expenses." He is in arrears with his rent, and, "has always to borrow grain for sowing at both harvests." Under these circumstances it is difficult to see where his alleged savings come in.

14. (Pp. 64, 65). HANSI, Gararia, aged sixty, earns just enough to provide food for himself and two women. "His household furniture consists of nothing more than a cot."

15. (Pp. 68, 69). BIK RAM, Ahir, cultivator of four and a-half acres, requires Rs. 116 for bare maintenance and seed for sowing, and has only Rs. 38½ for the purpose! Upon this case, Mr. Crooke sapiently says:—"This cultivator, like his neighbours in this village, is hard up, *and can hardly make both ends meet.*"

Happy thought. The dull tedium of Indian administration is relieved with a flash of humour. Indian civilian joke: A minus income of Rs. 77 8a. is an example of how one "can hardly make both ends meet." Cheerful creatures, these North-West civilians!

16. (Pp. 73, 74). HIRA, Lodha, aged forty, cultivator of twenty-four acres. Here is his balance-sheet for 1887-8:—

| *Income.* | Rs. | a. | p. | *Expenditure.* | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kharif Harvest | 51 | 0 | 0 | Rent .. .. | 72 | 8 | 0 |
| Rabi Harvest .. | 111 | 0 | 0 | Seed-corn .. | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Food .. .. | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Clothing .. .. | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Rs. | 162 | 0 | 0 | Total Rs. | 234 | 8 | 0 |

There was thus a balance of Rs. 72 8a. *on the wrong side.* "Hira is not in arrears of rent. He, however, is in debt amounting to Rs. 250." We should think he is in debt. If he were out he would not be living to tell his story.

Here we must stay our hand, so far as the district of Etah is concerned, although much more material is available. It is of a district containing such "sample" instances as the above that Mr. Crooke complacently declares "the peasantry to be a robust, apparently well-fed, population, and dressed in a manner which quite comes up to their traditional idea of comfort." It must not be forgotten that the facts to be submitted were to be fair averages. "Yes," says the official, "All's well in Etah!" Of what can an (Indian civilian) Englishman's conscience be made which enables him to put such a gloss upon the facts in his own possession? Mr. Crooke had only to look at the population statistics of his district and he would have seen that there was, not ten years before, a serious retrogression in the population, and that his deductions from his own observations ought not to have been of such a character as to permit a Secretariat official to give such a misleading report as that quoted at the beginning of this article. Here are the population statistics of Etah:—

POPULATION.

| In 1872. | As it ought to have been in 1881 at 1 per cent. per annum increase.* | As it was in 1881. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 829,118 | 903,738 | 756,523 | 147,215 |

That is, there was in the nine years under review a decrease of about 17 per cent. Rightly divined, Mr. Crooke's facts—not Mr. Crooke's theories—are exactly what would be expected under such circumstances.

* The Government of India has declared that, under their rule the population ought to increase at least 1 per cent. per annum. In one place they declared the increase ought to be 1½ per cent. per annum.

## EXAMPLE II.

SOME OF MR. CADELL'S FACTS ABOUT MUTTRA.

The Secretariat summary, which satisfied Lord Dufferin, and doubtless made him very proud of the results of his inquiry, says of the District of Muttra (population 671,690), also in the North-West Provinces:—"Mr. Cadell, Collector of Muttra, believes that the agriculturists, even after the failure of the Kharif harvest, were able to hold their own; but he admits that the condition of the labourers was worse, and that they had been severely tried by the past cold weather." Such the headquarters' gloss. Now, let us see exactly what is reported from Muttra:—

1. (P. 4). "A very noticeable feature in all the statements is

THE CESSATION OF ANY PURCHASES EXCEPT OF ABSOLUTE NECESSARIES OF LIFE.

The purchase of cloth is at once suspended in years of difficulty, and the weaver class competes with the rest of the labouring class for any work that may be going . . . . Sickness, too, added to the distress; and, when easy earthwork was opened at Brindaban, some fever-stricken people were noticed who could

HARDLY CARRY EVEN QUARTER-FILLED BASKETS."

2. (Pp. 14-16). KAMLE, Chamar, of Jait, thirty years old. Family of six. Cultivates ten acres, and, not placing his dependence upon one kind of produce only, sows seed of six different kinds—juar, cotton, bajra, indigo, hemp, and ramas. Sometimes works for hire at 1d. and 2d. per day! "Kamle eats twice in the day when he can, and in default once." "His wife has no silver ornaments, only pewter ones. He has to borrow a plough when required." This is the balance-sheet given for him for 1887-8:—

| *Receipts.* | Rs. | a. | p. | *Expenditure.* | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Crops .. .. | 53 | 0 | 0 | Rent .. .. | 32 | 0 | 0 |
| Ghi .. .. | 22 | 12 | 0 | Weeding .. .. | 6 | 8 | 0 |
| Labour .. .. | 15 | 4 | 0 | Food .. .. | 58 | 12 | 0 |
| | | | | Clothing .. .. | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| Total Rs. | 91 | 0 | 0 | Total Rs. | 104 | 12 | 0 |

"The result is Kamle would have to borrow Rs. 13 12a. to meet his expenses." "He suffers from an absentee landlord."

3. (Pp. 16-18).—ABE RAM, 40 years of age, family of five, cultivates about nine acres. When he had grain the family ate five seers daily; at other times and now, when grain is dear, only three seers or less." "He ate the bijra before it was ripe." "He has no blanket." And yet he is a farmer, tilling nearly nine acres! Why has he no blanket? An examination of his balance-sheet, showing how

THE LANDLORD TOOK NINETY-NINE PER CENT. OF THE GROSS PRODUCE FOR RENT

will help to supply the needed answer.

"Abe Ram's yearly account stands thus":—

| *Income.* | Rs. | a. | p. | *Expenditure.* | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sale of crops .. | 70 | 4 | 0 | Rent .. .. | 68 | 15 | 0 |
| Sale of milk .. | 18 | 0 | 0 | Seed and Weeding .. .. | 9 | 8 | 0 |
| Receipts for labour | 15 | 0 | 0 | Food .. .. | 44 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Clothing .. .. | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| Total Rs. | 103 | 4 | 0 | Total Rs. | 129 | 15 | 0 |

Here there are Rs. 26 11a., nearly 60 per cent. of the amount required for food, deficient.

This instance is remarkably instructive. Sir Auckland Colvin (by the hand of his Chief Secretary, Mr. J. R. Reid) thus summarises it in a letter specially addressed to the Government of India:—

"14. *Abe Ram* (p. 16) is a Thakur, cultivating about nine acres; his family consists of himself, his wife, and three sons, one a child; he has a male and female buffalo, and a cow, of which the milk is used; green food was also mixed during the winter with the flour. The family appears to be above want."

Was ever, in the whole history of bureaucratic obscurantism, there ever seen such a travesty of facts as is contained in

the above sentence? No notice is taken in this precious summary of these facts:—

*a.* Ninety-nine per cent. of the gross produce was taken for rent;

*b.* Rs. 26 11a. was lacking of the amount needed simply to provide food and clothing;

*c.* The money-lender would not advance Abe Ram a pie, as he already owed Rs. 50 to Rs. 60;

*d.* The family were so hard-pressed for food that they "ate the bajri before it was ripe";

*e.* The man himself had no blanket, nor does it appear that his wife and children had any warm clothing;

*f.* His household furniture is set down at Rs. 2 (English 1s. 5d.) in value;

*g.* Although he and his son did manual labour and earned Rs. 15 4a., there was nevertheless the minus balance of Rs. 26 11a.

It is of this man, and of a family so situated, that Sir Auckland Colvin complacently says:

"THE FAMILY APPEARS TO BE ABOVE WANT."

"Above want." What, then, is suffering? Cold nights and mornings with empty bellies and no blankets, and only scanty meals in the day-time largely consisting of green leaves from the jungle mixed with the food! Really, Sir Auckland Colvin, if he writes in this fashion, makes it a matter of duty to distrust his conclusions in all matters, every one of them, utterly. Be it remembered, too, this is no landless labourer of whom such facts are recorded, but a farmer cultivating nine acres!

As for Mr. J. R. Reid, who made the summary, he may congratulate himself on having penned the most misleading sentence which ever came from the quill of an Indian civilian. That is saying much, but not too much. No one is likely to envy him the self-complacency which, probably, he cherishes.

4. (Pp. 18-20).—Hira Singh (30) and Bhubra, brothers, both married, no children. Household, six in number, the two men and their wives, a cousin, and an aunt. The "women have no ornaments." "Fields are irrigated from a pucka (first-class) well." The income and expenditure account shows a debit balance of Rs.8 2a. 6p. Nevertheless, the brothers are declared to be well-to-do, "their condition is better than either the Chamar of Jait or the Thakur of Nangam; they have more metal dishes and

CAN AFFORD A BLANKET."

Actually, farmers in the North-West Provinces (if they have no children) can afford a blanket! Behold, the blessings of British rule!

5. (P. 6).—Bhikari, son of Rupar, labourer, six in family; ill for four months; wife and daughter grass-sellers, son also at work; "the son's wife, to relieve the family, returned to her parents' house." "During the rains [the most trying part of the year] the household had only one regular meal a day." "In other years they spent Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 on winter clothing, but none this time."

Many similar instances might be given, such as that of Tunda, son of Bulwant, cultivator of five acres; "on the betrothal of his eldest daughter he received a present of Rs. 12, and paid this sum to the zemindar as part of his Kharif rent," and in the cold weather, this small farmer "slept in a thatched room alongside his bullock."

Muttra is another of the districts which has gone backward. This is its record during the years 1872-1881:—

Population.

| In 1872. | As it ought to have been in 1881 at 1 per cent. per annum increase. | As it was in 1881. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 782,460 | 852,872 | 671,690 | 181,182 |

Here the decrease was nearly 25 per cent., and yet those who were left, with the rents they had to pay and with no remissions in bad seasons, were barely able to keep body and soul together.

## EXAMPLE III.

### SOME SAMPLE FACTS FROM THE ETAWAH DISTRICT.

Of the Etawah District (population 722,371) the summary says:—"Mr. Alexander, Collector of Etawah, saw a good many people in March last whose appearance showed that they had been suffering from an insufficiency of food; but, writing in May, he says that none but actual paupers are in real distress. After careful inquiry Mr. Alexander is of opinion that the bulk of the cultivators in the villages, selected for investigation, have not been suffering from want of food, and do not ordinarily do so; but that, owing to high prices, the labourers and a few of the smaller or exceptionally unfortunate cultivators have been pressed between December 1887 and March 1888." Mark: Mr. Alexander merely says that "the bulk"—whatever he may mean by that expression—"have not been suffering from want of food," but a good many have been suffering. So it will appear, when we observe what his detailed report contains:—

1. "*In all ordinary years* I should say that cultivators

LIVE FOR ONE-THIRD OF THE YEAR ON ADVANCES FROM MONEY-LENDERS,

and in unfavourable years they have either very largely to increase the amount of the debt to the bohra, or to sell off jewellery, cattle, and anything else that can possibly be spared."

2. When a succession of bad crops has to be faced no money is forthcoming from the money-lender, "and then, no doubt, the average cultivator suffers severely from insufficiency of food."

3. In the village Marhapur, "the fifty-five

CULTIVATING HOUSEHOLDS WERE ALL IN DEBT

at the close of the year for sums varying from Rs. 800 to Rs. 10, and the day labourers for sums varying from Rs. 18 to Rs. 2: most of the farmers were also obliged to part with jewellery or cattle."

4. Bejai, Gararia, holds 9¼ acres, family of seven, "the produce of his fields" was "just sufficient to maintain his family; a marriage, a burial, and the purchase of plough cattle, necessitated the pledging of nearly all the family jewellery and an incurring of further debt to the extent of Rs. 100. "Towards the end of the year the family were in difficulties," and in the next year, when the kharif turned out badly, "*they were reduced to absolute want.* For the greater part of January and February

THEY GOT NO REGULAR MEALS, BUT LIVED ON CARROTS AND EDIBLE WILD PLANTS."

"There can be no doubt but that during the first six months of 1295 fasli [revenue year: A.D. 1887-8] they have lead a very miserable life, and though better off for a short period after the rabi, are likely to come to absolute want again before the kharif is cut." Mr. Alexander does not state whether any remission of rent was recommended in this instance. The presumption is the remission was *not* recommended and certainly not granted.

---

If the above are "sample" facts it needs no demonstration that the condition of the Indian people as a whole is deplorable. That they are "samples," giving a fair idea of the state of things generally in the North-West Provinces and Oudh at least, may be accepted. Lord Dufferin's orders were: "Procure evidence of a positive and trustworthy character from such selected areas as you think proper." The Viceroy's lieutenants did as they were told. It is noteworthy that the officials employed, with remarkably few exceptions, let it be seen in their reports that they were biassed, before inquiry, in favour of the present condition of things being reasonably, or even thoroughly, satisfactory. Nevertheless they record the particulars which we have given above, and which we commend to the serious contemplation of our readers. We know the sea is salt by taking a sample here and there and testing it: must we not conclude that India is in a deplorable condition from the samples with which the authorities themselves, with every motive to make the worse appear the better part, have supplied us?

READY IN A FEW DAYS.

THE VERBATIM REPORT,

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

OF

THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE SIXTH

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Held at Calcutta in Christmas week and the week after, 1890.

Copies may be obtained at the Offices of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, 25 Craven Street, Charing Cross, London.

*April* 8, 1891.

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# *INDIA.*

APRIL 10, 1891.

## OUR PRESENT ISSUE:

### A PRESENT-DAY, IMPERATIVE, DUTY.

We have no hesitation in asserting that there is not a line in our issue of to-day which ought to escape the most careful perusal of every Briton who professes to have the interest of India at heart. This description ought to include all Britons, but it does not. There are millions utterly heedless of India. To Ministers present and prospective, to Members of Parliament, and to candidates for Parliament, to every citizen who desires that his country should, in its dealings with India, show mercy and do righteously, our pages, to-day, contain a solemn call to duty. How solemn the call, how powerful its influence, each must decide for himself; but, to every one, the facts constitute an appeal to the performance of duty which no man may neglect, save at his peril.

Take, first, Mr. Seymour Keay's most powerful indictment of our rule. If the half of what he proves were asserted of Russian rule, or of Italian administration, of Austrian sway or Gallic government, or indeed of any country in the world, the British press, the metropolitan press in particular, would unceasingly denounce the mistaken theories of government which permitted, if they did not cause, such a calamitous state of things. As it is, the sufferers being only our fellow subjects, and the work of administration our own, we wilfully shut our eyes so that we may not see, and close our ears so that we may not hear, what the incidents of the day are telling us. Mr. Keay uses strong language when he says of our system of government in India that it is

"THE MOST SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL TORTURE THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN,"

but before making that statement he established the position of which these words are merely a bald description. The editor of the *Literary World* (a retired North-West civilian), in a recent issue, condemns all such descriptions of our Indian affairs as Mr. Seymour Keay's, and declares that they weaken the attack on real abuses of which, the ex-civilian admits, "a large number must always exist." "Must always exist!" Why, "must"? Will the ex-civilian editor, who has now been many years in England, at last begin to labour for the removal of the "many abuses" he admits to exist, and by so doing, repay that debt which he, in common with all Englishmen, and more than most, owes to India? There is need enough for everything that any man, with an eye to abuses of whatever sort or kind, may care to do. The present issue of India affords the ex-civilian editor ample scope for helping to put things right, as much of our space is given to affairs concerning that part of the Empire in which he served, and with the circumstances of which, it is to be presumed, he is familiar. Mr. Keay's indictment is a most terrible one. If what he says is correct the Government of India ought at once to be put on its trial, and compelled to stake its defence, if any defence be possible. And, we are compelled to say, if Mr. Keay feels—and undoubtedly he does feel, in the very core of his heart—what he has so forcibly and so eloquently written, we must confess to a feeling of amazement that he has not made more powerful use of his position and influence as a Member of Parliament. We know all the difficulties in the way of adequate action being taken on behalf of India by a private Member, but, in the presence of calamities like those of India, these difficulties should count for naught. We hold that, if needs be, any Member of Parliament who really realises what is going on in India, as it is perfectly clear Mr. Seymour Keay realises it, ought to make himself, if needs be, as grotesque a spectacle as did Mr. Samuel Plimsoll on behalf of British seamen sailing in coffin-ships, or be prepared to prove himself as great a nuisance to the House and his fellow-members as ever was the late Mr. Biggar in his most obstructive moments. Inasmuch as he, at least, has not risen to this height, Mr. Seymour Keay, we are compelled to say, has failed in his duty towards India. He knows the real state of affairs. For him, therefore, there is no excuse, no, not even the excuse of a moribund House of Commons, the vast majority of the members of which are utterly careless of their duties. If Mr. Bradlaugh had lived it is almost certain that, whether he pleased the Government or displeased it, whether the whole Liberal Party would or would not have joined him, whether he had few or many at his back, he would, this very session, have made so great a disturbance in the House that a Royal Commission must, of necessity, have been appointed. Shall India continue to suffer simply because Charles Bradlaugh is dead? Mr. Seymour Keay—to say nothing of other members known to take an interest in India—is in a position where he can make his voice heard on behalf of the oppressed. Why is he silent? Why is he not making use of any and every opportunity to awaken the House to a sense of its duty? It is for the Honourable Member to explain.

Another portion of this issue to which we direct the special attention of our readers is the article on "Indian Government Statistics and Statements: Are they Trust-

worthy?" The answer to the question is most decidedly in the negative. The examples cited are of a character which cannot fail to convince the most sceptical that, wanting the healthy criticism and ceaseless watchfulness of a popular assembly, even so generally admirable an administrator as Sir Auckland Colvin can palm off untruths as truths. We say "untruths" advisedly, only avoiding the use of a stronger word because we are satisfied there was no intentional desire on Sir Auckland's part to mislead. But, the Anglo-Indian, the bureaucratic, way is that which Sir Auckland Colvin adopted, and which all bureaucrats adopt the world over. It is a characteristic of the class. We especially ask our readers' careful perusal of the exposure of North-West civilian ideas of fair summary of a given condition of affairs, because of a question asked by Mr. Schwann, M.P., in the House of Commons, and an answer given by Sir James Fergusson, to be found reported on p. 118, have an important bearing on this matter. What was bad in Sir Auckland Colvin's hands becomes much worse in Sir James Fergusson's. Mr. Schwann, shocked by the facts contained in an official publication, to be found in the Library of the House but not published for general information, asked a question and in it alluded to the tenants as State tenants. "No," replied the ex-Governor of Bombay, "they are not State tenants." That was a mean reply. Even though the individuals may have been either tenants of large or small zemindars or peasant proprietors paying separately (see p. 149 of the "Statistical Abstract of India, 1890"), they are, all the same, State tenants. It is the State which fixes the rent that the land is expected to pay, and it is the State which is bound to see that sub-tenants are not rack-rented. But, it does not appear, from the particulars which have been published, that the rents referred to by Mr. Schwann are other than those which the North-West Provinces Settlement officer fixed. In such case the Government is directly responsible. The lands cultivated in the North-West Provinces are not held under a Permanent Settlement. But, if they were, as has been proved by the Bengal Tenants' Act of the Ripon-Dufferin period of rule, the Government of India does not consider itself precluded from interfering on behalf of the tenants and securing to them protection from severe rack-renting. So that, either way, the administration of Sir Auckland Colvin is responsible. Take one more example. In Ireland, the Government, at least at present, is not State landlord, but it nevertheless fixes judicial rents and sets aside rack-rents. This point of State or private landlordism, however, was not all. Let our readers note what Sir J. Fergusson said about the tenants having paid the rents, and then let them turn to pp. 105-108, and observe under what circumstances of privation and downright cruelty those rents were exacted. Such gross inhumanity as is involved in a reply like that given by the ex-Governor of Bombay (in the absence of Sir John Gorst) is highly discreditable to the British name, and is an offence to a civilised administration. We marvel that Mr. Schwann, with all the facts in his hands, should have allowed Sir James Fergusson to put him off with such shallow and inaccurate statements as constituted his reply. It may be hoped that Mr. Schwann will, now that the House has resumed its sittings, have more to say on this matter and ruthlessly expose conduct so cruel as that of which Sir James Fergusson was guilty.

Once more, we beseech our readers to give their most careful consideration to the facts which we have, to-day, laid before them.

## "THE BURIED WEALTH OF INDIA."

THAT there is much buried wealth in India is a favourite subject just now with the *Pioneer*, of Allahabad. Some of the remarks of that paper have been freely quoted in the British Press, the following paragraph particularly proving itself a favourite with sub-editors everywhere:—

Mr. Clarmont Daniell, if we remember rightly, gives as the result of his researches into the buried wealth of India, the sum of 270 millions sterling as a probable estimate of the amount of treasure lying idle in the country either in the shape of hoards or ornaments. We do not know that anyone has ever seriously audited the figures by which he arrives at this conclusion: and they may be indisputable. At any rate everyone knows that the hoards of native families are astonishingly large in proportion to their outward circumstances; and Mr. E. S. Maclagan, who has been investigating the trade in gold and silver work for the Punjab Government, is convinced that they are much more generally undervalued than overestimated. A competent authority, he says, guesses that "in Amritsar city alone there are jewels to the value of two million pounds sterling." As regards some other districts the figures that have been furnished are not less astonishing. The miserable waste of Montgomery is estimated to possess about fifty lacs in ornaments. The hill sides and valleys of Kulu are put at three lacs and a-half. In Jhelum two-fifths of the wealth of the district are said to be vested in property of this nature; and in Kohat, "probably one of the poorest districts of the province in this respect, the estimate is taken at 800 rs. for each Hindoo family, and 10 rs. for each Mussulman family, and a lac in the aggregate for the Nawab and other Raises—making a total for the district of 75 lacs." This estimate, Mr. Maclagan admits, is probably an exaggeration; but he adds, "even a more exact calculation would probably surprise us in its results." Given another quarter of a century of quiet British rule and the spoil of the Punjab will be once more worth the attention of some covetous invader from the North-West. In the meantime it acts as a powerful incentive to the predatory instincts of lesser rogues—the housebreaker and the dacoit. And in fact such a store of wealth kept in such a manner would have been enough to bring these professions into existence in the golden age. Stock notes have failed; Mr. Daniell's currency reforms have not had a trial; and we still seem to be as far as ever from having hit on any scheme that will induce the native population to see the disadvantages of keeping valuables in hand and the advantages that may be secured by parting with them.

At first sight the amounts mentioned in the above paragraph may seem enormous. But when those amounts are regarded in the light of the population of India—a sixth of the population of the entire globe—and it is borne in mind, as it always should be, that the greater part of the jewellery is inherited, have been heirlooms in Indian families through many generations, one marvels not at the wealth of India, but at the terrible poverty which exists, notwithstanding the two hundred and seventy millions of "hoards or ornaments." Divided among the whole people there is

NOT QUITE ONE RUPEE PER HEAD OF WEALTH,

including all that has been inherited! Buried "wealth," indeed! Miserable, naked, poverty rather. Even the optimist General Richard Strachey, when before the House of Commons Finance Committee twenty years ago, said:—"Consider the general poverty of India. . . . . Consider

THE TOTAL ABSENCE OF ANYTHING LIKE ACCUMULATED WEALTH

in India."

Matters in this respect have not improved since 1872: rather have they got very much worse. In the inquiry which, three years ago, was made in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, it was found that many households, even the households of small farmers, had not ten shillings' worth of furniture and utensils of every sort and kind. Again and again it was stated either there were no jewels or that the ornaments were made of pewter. In many thousands of huts, taking the records of 1888 as the test, there is not more than one rupee's worth of "belongings" in each hut. Analysed, the *Pioneer's* figures do not show much wealth per head. In Montgomery the average works out to little more than Rs. 10 per inhabitant. As for the statement, "Given another quarter of a century of quiet British rule and the spoil of the Punjab will be once more worth the attention of some covetous invader from the North West," it is amusingly preposterous. The *Pioneer* has not shown, we do not believe it can possibly show, that there has been any material addition to the wealth of the Punjab during the forty and more years that that Province has been under British rule. Sir David Barbour is the only official trustworthy guide we know of. He states that the whole agricultural wealth of the Punjab amounts to Rs. 18½ per head. To that add Rs. 1½ for other industries and you have Rs. 20 per head. From

that has to be taken 14 per cent. for land revenue and stamps alone, which means that there are only Rs. 17 per head if the income of the Province was fairly divided all round. But, from this Rs. 17 has to be taken seed corn and several other charges, certainly not less than R. 1 per head. The *Pioneer* can form a tolerably fair guess how much is needed to feed and clothe a Punjabi for twelve months. Will our contemporary show how, consistently will sufficiently feeding and clothing the people, any increment of wealth is possible? The *Pioneer* cannot say that it is only in recent years that things have become bad for the agriculturist in the Punjab. In his Gurgaon writings the editor showed that this district at least had been rack-rented for more than half a century.

No doubt in a few of the wealthier Indian and Muhammadan families all over India there are jewels and property of considerable value. But, as we have said, it is mainly inherited wealth. No one, we suppose, would contend that all India's stored up resources have already been drained from the country; of inherited wealth there must be a great deal still. It is, however, lessening year by year, while its place is not being taken by newer creations of valuables. If the *Pioneer* would take the trouble to examine into these matters analytically and historically, first of all casting aside all preconceived notions and preserving a candid mind, judging by its leader of December 30, 1890, Saul would not merely be among the prophets, but he would be head and shoulders over his compeers in his exhibition of India's only too hideous poverty. The *Pioneer* would then, habitually, as it did on December 30, 1890, attack the Indian authorities with vehemence and with imputations to a degree unknown in this journal, where we assume that every Anglo-Indian official is the personification of ability and high-mindedness. Indeed, it is because such good men are the producers of such ill-consequences that we find most occasion to denounce the system under which the ill grows and continues. As to some of the reserves of the well-to-do people in India being kept in the shape of jewellery, that is inevitable. While human nature is human nature some adornment of the person will always be considered essential: "back and body will be adorned even if the belly goes empty." Further, to expect, as some English publicists appear to expect, that Indian people will sell their jewels and melt their gold and silver nose and ankle and finger rings, to enable them to find capital for industrial enterprises or to improve the land, is to expect from them what is expected from no other people on the face of the earth. Whence comes the capital employed in joint stock and other enterprises in the United Kingdom? Does any of it come from the jewellery, the paintings, the Sèvres vases, the hoarded wealth of the rich people of this country? It is only as there is capital over and above what makes for the adornment of the person and the enrichment of the home that general enterprise is nourished, even in go-ahead Britain. If this fact were more often borne in mind there would be less injustice done to what is called the want of energy and effort on the part of Indian so-called capitalists, while many foolish gibes as to the alleged "hoarding" propensities of our Indian fellow-subjects would be spared. Stop the drain from India, and wealth may have a chance of accumulating; India may be able to pay for her own industrial and other enterprises. While the drain continues wealth cannot accumulate and the works which her foreign rulers declare to be necessary must be constructed with foreign capital, and in the process must be brought about the further degradation and ruin of India.

## THE LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS.

An intimation elsewhere announces the early publication of the verbatim report of the last session of Congress. In general interest there is no record of the whole six sessions which have been held, so full of vital interest as that which will soon be in the hands of the British public. The questions discussed are all of present importance and value. The speeches deal with eminently "live" topics. More than ever before that great Condition of the People question received consideration from the assembled delegates; and an earnest attempt was made to procure redress for the suffering masses. There are half-a-dozen speeches which deserve to be ranked by the side of the best of the British Anti-Corn Law Leaguers in the early days of the League. It is impossible to say enough on this most important phase of India of to-day.

## THE SALT DUTY IN INDIA:
### ITS EXCESSIVE BURDENSOMENESS ON THE POORER PEOPLE.

From the speeches of Mr. Pringle Kennedy, the mover, and Mr. D. E. Wacha, the seconder of the resolution, praying for the reduction of the duty on salt, passed at the last Session of Congress, we quote some startling statements.

Mr. PRINGLE KENNEDY.

Every man, woman, and child in this country must eat salt, and thus be a feeder of the Imperial treasury.

THE SALT TAX IS AN INCOME TAX ON ALL INCOMES DOWN TO THE LOWEST.

The poorer a man is, the heavier is its incidence. What that incidence is I shall hereafter show. In England a labourer who drinks neither alcoholic beverages, nor tea, nor yet smokes tobacco, pays nothing to the State. In India the lowliest peasant, the poorest coolie, nay,

THE VERY BEGGAR WOMAN IN THE STREET, HAS TO DROP HER MITE INTO THE IMPERIAL TREASURY.

(Hear, hear.) Such a tax needs very cogent reasons to defend it. Those ordinarily given are—first, antiquity; second, facility of collection; third, that the people do not mind it; fourth, lightness of assessment; fifth, financial necessity. As to the first, all that I have to say is that other things, such as human sin and human misery, are old, older than even the salt-tax. As to the second, facility of collection, I must remind you that the working of every revenue department in India eventually rests with red-turbaned gentlemen, in whom the predatory instinct is, I am afraid, generally too strong for any curb of conscience. As to the third point, when I hear that the people do not mind it, the only meaning that I can put to this expression is that people do not speak of it. Gentlemen, an eel is said not to mind skinning. It is used to it. I suppose it seems to the eels a visitation of an inscrutable providence; and hence, no doubt, our people, unless questioned, do not, in many parts of the country, speak much about it. But when I think of the salt-tax, my thought takes me to Feudal France, when it existed under the name of the gabelle. They did not mind it, so the rulers said: and no doubt, even if they did, they rather hesitated to press the point, for in those days, a gallows was found to be more disagreeable than a poll tax, and

THEIR RULERS WERE QUITE HANDY AT HANGING

all who differed from them on such political questions. But, gentlemen, if the wheels of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small, and the end came, I need not say how. In an article in the *Pioneer* some months ago by Mr. Robertson it was stated that a Madras official, who had made a careful study of the question, had ascertained that the average monthly income of the agriculturists in the district of Karnul was twelve annas per head, say

RUPEES FOUR FOR A FAMILY OF FIVE.

Very rough calculations on my part gave me similar results for the districts of Durbhangah and Mozufferpore. The *Gazetteer* published several years ago gives the expenditure of a well-to-do Tirhoot peasant, and therefore I presume the income, at about Rs. 11 per month. This was for a family of five. The poorer, he said, have to reduce their expenditure to about half of this. Let us say

RUPEES FIVE FOR A FAMILY OF FIVE.

Now if these five ate twenty-four seers of salt in the year, as, in accordance with the official calculations already stated, they would do, this would be (leaving out any calculation for the increased price, which, as all economists know, considerably exceeds the amount of the tax itself) at one anna a seer, Rs. 1-8, and so a family having Rs. 60 a year would have to pay Rs. 1-8 as their salt duty. This is a tax of nearer five than four pies a month, and this too on incomes not over Rs. 500 a year, but of only Rs. 5 a month. If mine and the Madras civilian's figures be taken, the people of these districts would be paying over six pies in the rupee, and if they ate seven instead of six seers, the tax would be nearly seven pies in the rupee, and that on incomes of less than Rs. 50 a year. Think of these facts, ye gentlemen, who have incomes over Rs. 500 a year and grumble at the payment of four pies in the rupee! Meditate over them those of you who possess an income of over Rs. 2,000 a year and whine at the payment of five pies in the rupee! Now, sir, only one word more about figures. If the tax were reduced to Rs. 2, salt would sell at about thirteen seers instead of ten seers as it now does. If the duty were reduced to one rupee, as Lord Mayo, Sir J. Strachey, and subsequently Sir Evelyn Baring desired, salt would sell for twenty seers for the rupee, and

IF SALT WERE DUTY FREE,

a blessed day, but I am afraid far away in the millennium

SALT WOULD SELL AT FORTY SEERS FOR THE RUPEE

in those places even where it is now dearest, and in many provinces it would be far cheaper. Why the actual cost of producing one maund of salt at the Mayo mines, the Sambhur lake, the Kareghora works and the Madras coast works is under two annas! I address many

of the great of this land. Will they use all their influence to make this precious necessary of life cheaper? Fellow delegates, will you show that they accuse you falsely, who say your care is all for yourselves and that this movement is simply one for the substitution of Indian dark-skinned, for European fair-skinned, Brahmins, by saying: "If in no other way can this yoke be made less grievous, tax us, tax the rich, but let the poor go!" I appeal to you, one and all in this hall, to show that Western education has brought with it an increase of sympathy and charity for your poorer brethren, for the dumb millions of the land, without which sympathy and charity all the knowledge of this duty is but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. (Loud cheers.)

### Mr. DINSHAW EDULJEE WACHA.

The principal object of the Resolution before you is to urge upon the Government the justice of remitting the enhanced salt duty of eight annas per maund which is no longer imperative, on account of the material improvement which the finances of the Empire have undergone since the date of its imposition. It is needless for me to recall to your memory the pretext under which the enhancement was justified in the early part of 1888, despite the fact that well-informed critics in the press and responsible Associations at the time

CONCLUSIVELY SHOWED THAT IT WAS UNCALLED FOR.

Previous to the imposition of the augmented duty, the Government of India had absorbed in two years Rx. 8,750,000, viz. :—

| | |
|---|---|
| By Income Tax ... ... ... ... ... | Rs. 2,75,00,000 |
| Improvements and Economies ... ... ... | 2,00,00,000 |
| Curtailment of Provincial Allotment ... ... | 1,00,00,000 |
| Appropriation of Famine and Railway Fund ... | 3,00,00,000 |

This colossal amount of

NEARLY NINE CRORES WAS WASTED

on the following questionable and hazardous enterprises :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Upper Burmah acquisition ... ... ... ... | Rs. 3,51,00,000 |
| Penjdeh Field Force ... ... ... ... | 2.11,60.000 |
| Transfrontier Defences and Railways ... ... | 2,00.00.000 |
| Additional Military Expenditure ... ... ... | 98,00,000 |

But even after the absorption of such a vast amount there was a heavy deficiency which, the Government regretfully urged, necessitated a recourse to additional taxation in the shape of an enhanced duty of eight annas per maund on such a necessary of life as salt. In his last financial statement Sir David Barbour has tried to show that the progress of consumption has received no check. According to his own figures, however, as given in the 23rd paragraph of that statement, it is clear that consumption in 1890-91 is estimated at about 31,930,000 maunds, which is less, by 900,000 maunds, than the recorded figures of 1886-87. Sir David Barbour attempts to demonstrate that, in spite of the increased duty, consumption, which had evidently fallen, is again creeping to the old level. But Sir David forgets two important factors: Firstly, that population is increasing at the rate of one per cent. per annum; and, secondly, that but for the enhancement, the percentage of progress observable till 1887 might have been better in 1890-91. Indeed, it is a question whether the consumption per head has not fallen below the average of 10lbs. per annum. That average is considered everywhere, but in India, to be quite inadequate, especially as

WE ALLOW NOTHING IN OUR COMPUTATION FOR THE CONSUMPTION OF CATTLE,

hundreds of thousands of whom annually lose condition for want of salt and die off consequently on the smallest failure of pasturage, and thus cripple, to a serious extent, the means which mainly contribute to the production of our national wealth. I will give you some figures of the consumption of salt in Europe and America, from which it will be easily perceived how much India falls short of what may be called an adequate consumption of salt. In the United Kingdom there is no duty, and the consumption is 80lbs. per head, but of course this includes much salt for manufacturing purposes. In France it is 50lbs.; in Germany 25; in Russia 19—Russia whose economic conditions are in some respects identical with those of India; in Austria 14, in Italy 18, in Spain and Portugal, poor as they are, 17lbs. The consumption in the United States is 39lbs.; the average in Europe is 26lbs. Then look at the incidence of the duty. The average income per head of the European population is £15 4s. 7¼d. per head, while the salt duty per head averages 11d. Now, taking the rupee at 1s. 6d., the average income of the population in India is £2, while the salt duty per head averages 5⅜d. Therefore in Europe the salt duty is 0·3 per cent. on the income, while in India it is over 1·1 per cent.—or, in other words, the incidence of the salt tax is now

NEARLY FOUR TIMES AS HEAVY IN INDIA AS IN EUROPE.

Formulated in other terms it means that India, with an income hardly more than one-eighth that of Europe, pays nearly half as much as a tax on a necessity of life like salt. Thus the duty operates as a real hardship on the poorest people, who constitute the large majority of our population. How great is the hardship may be realised by taking a concrete example. A family of five consumes on an average, say, 50lbs. of salt annually. But there are only two bread-winners, man and wife, the rest being young persons or children. Taking the average income of each earner at the official computation, viz., Rs. 27 per head, and calculating the lowest retail bazaar price at Rs. 3¼ per maund it will be found that there is a burden of nearly four per cent. on the combined income per annum merely for salt. Imagine an income-tax of four per cent. on a poor family of five, and nearly one-sixth of this is due to the extra eight annas. Thus the enhancement of the duty, however small, operates with great hardship on the masses. Gentlemen, all through the history of the salt tax it has been said that it is a poll-tax, and that it falls heavily on the poor. My personal opinion is that it should have no place in our fiscal system, for it is a tax on a necessary of life, and is, moreover, at its present rate fully twenty-five times the actual cost of production. Eminent statesmen, from Sir John Lawrence to Lord Ripon, have disapproved of it. But it is now too late to abolish it altogether. It is of no use contending with existing facts. All that we should strive for is a low duty on the sound principle that it is conducive to greater consumption both for men and cattle. I now pass to the second part of the Resolution. I hold in my hand a copy of the explanatory memorandum by the Under Secretary of State for India, presented to Parliament in August last. At page fifty there is a table of *net* Revenue and Expenditure for the three years ending 1889-90, and also Budget estimates for the current official year. Comparing the complete accounts of 1887-88 with the estimates of this year what do we find? This only, that there is a satisfactory growth of revenue under all the principal heads. Leaving alone opium, salt, and provincial rates, I find that the increase under the other heads amounts to Rx. 1,430,000 of rupees as under:

| | | | Accounts. 1887-8. | Budget Estimates. 1890-91. | Increase. 1890-91. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Land Revenue | Rx. | ... | 19,653,000 | 20,119.000 | 466,000 |
| Stamps | ,, | ... | 3,669,000 | 3,846,000 | 177,000 |
| Excess | ,, | ... | 4,374,000 | 4,645,000 | 271.000 |
| Customs | ,, | ... | 1,182,000 | 1,378 000 | 196,000 |
| Assessed Taxes | ,, | ... | 1,383,000 | 1,514,000 | 131,000 |
| Forest | ,, | ... | 402,000 | 565,000 | 163,000 |
| Registration | ,, | ... | 123,000 | 150,000 | 27,000 |

Thus, apart from salt, which now yields a larger revenue on account of a higher duty, apart from opium which is precarious in its yield, and apart from provincial rates which are mere transfer receipts, there is a growth in four years of Rx. 1,430,000. But beyond this improvement on the revenue side there is, gentlemen, a material saving in one item of Imperial expenditure. I refer to the interest charge on the ordinary debt. In 1887-88, the net charge under this head was Rs. 46,950,000. In the estimates of expenditure for 1890-91 it is put down at Rs. 35,060,000. The saving in four years amounts to Rx. 1,180,000. While we note this improvement in our national expenditure with great satisfaction, we cannot but feel aghast when we discover that expenditure under other heads had risen by leaps and bounds by no less than Rx. 3,080,000.

| | | | Accounts. 1887-88. | Estimate. 1890-91. | Increases. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Department | Rx. | ... | 11,410,000 | 12,075,000 | 665,000 |
| Miscellaneous Charges | ,, | ... | 3,155,000 | 3,702,000 | 547,000 |
| Buildings and Roads | ,, | ... | 4,859,000 | 5,128,000 | 269,000 |
| Army Services | ,, | ... | 19,357,000 | 20,522,000 | 1,165,000 |
| Special Defence Works | ,, | ... | 456,000 | 892,000 | 436,000 |

Thus in four years they have managed to

RUN UP CIVIL AND MILITARY CHARGES,

including defence works, by the enormous extent of Rx. 3,000,000. The army services alone have increased by Rx. 1,160,000! not to speak of defence works having been run up one hundred per cent.! It is these stupendous charges which eat up your growing revenue. It is the so-called defence policy, the safeguarding of our frontiers and transfrontiers from a bugbear of their own creation, created to find staff appointments, and employment to the already monied European classes, which is at the root of the financial embarrassments of the Government and at the root of

THE STARVATION AND MISERY WHICH ARE EATING AWAY THE LIVES OF TENS OF MILLIONS

of our pauper Indians. There are military and other critics who disapprove of that policy. Our late lamented friend, Mr. Slagg, characterised it two years ago, as you may remember, as a "mad" policy, when speaking on the subject in the House of Commons. I believe that it is a "mad" policy. I know that it is a wicked policy, and as long as it is pursued headlong it will continue to embarrass the finances and add millions yearly to our already alarmingly heavy death-roll. The embarrassments arising from the fall in the value of silver are, in my opinion, nothing—a mere fleabite—compared with the financial difficulties in which the Government of India is plunged by

THIS INSANE MILITARY POLICY.

I repeat, that unless a great effort is made at future Congresses to force the Government to desist from these reckless and indefensible operations beyond the natural lines of Indian defence, there can be scarcely any hope of pecuniary relief to the taxpayer, scarcely any hope for the amelioration of the miserable condition of our starving millions. Since the Panjdeh scare they have spent, according to the official statements, full Rx. 13,000,000 on the so-called trans-frontier defences; but we have not yet seen the last of them, for in the last financial statement reference is made to a further probable expenditure of Rx. 1,000,000! I now come to the practical part of the resolution. Of course we have to submit resignedly to

THIS RUINOUS, THIS UNPRINCIPLED, TRANS-FRONTIER POLICY

of the Government until we succeed in awakening the consciences of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects now of our own free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better or for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy.

WILL OUR BRITISH BRETHREN NEVER AWAKE?

Meanwhile, more ammunition, more explosives, more fireworks, and even more troops are being requisitioned. These costly pastimes, amusements to our rulers, death to our people, may deter the authorities from giving ear to our prayers and protests.

Mr. G. K. GOKHALE: I daresay there is not a single person present, not a single member of those who are called the middle and upper classes, who have consumed, during the last three years, one grain of salt less than he would have done if there had been no enhancement.

WHO ARE THE PERSONS AFFECTED?

They are those who have been estimated by Sir William Hunter at forty millions, and by Sir Charles Elliott at seventy millions,

WHO ALWAYS EXIST ON THE BORDERLAND OF FAMINE,

so that, directly there is the least failure, down the precipice they go. The persons affected by this enhancement are they to whom the lines of the Corn Law poet might aptly be applied :—

"Landless, joyless, helpless, hopeless,
Gasping still for bread and breath;
To their graves, by trouble haunted,
India's helots toil till death."

(Loud cheers.) When you call to mind the thin emaciated figures of these unhappy, miserable brethren, who have as much right to the comforts of this, God's earth, as you or I, or anyone else; when you recall all these things you will clearly understand what

GRIEVOUS AND TERRIBLE HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING AND PRIVATION

this measure of enhancement which has curtailed the poor man's consumption of salt by three millions six hundred thousand maunds (82lbs. per maund) has really entailed. (Cheers.)

## THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND INDIA.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED BY THE "HANSARD" STAFF FOR "INDIA".]

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.—February 24.

### TAX ON DRY GRAIN IN CEYLON.

Mr. SEALE-HAYNE (Devon, Ashburton); I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether, having regard to the recent abolition of the tax on dry grain in Ceylon, and the expression of opinion on the part of the Ceylon National Association, and the debate in the Legislative Council of that Colony on the 17th of December last, showing a strong desire for the abolition of the Paddy Tax on the part of the representatives of the Sinhalese people, the British and other planting interests, and the burghers, he will give such instructions as shall permit the official members of the Council to vote for its abolition.

Sir J. GORST: In the unavoidable absence of my right hon. friend, perhaps I may be allowed to reply to the question. All the papers connected with this subject are now before the Secretary of State and will require the most careful consideration, as whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Paddy Tax, it could not be abolished without substituting other taxation. The question, as it stands, is a little misleading. It should be borne in mind that the repeal of the dry grain tax is in no way connected with the various proposals that have been made with respect to the Paddy Tax. It is a matter that stands by itself and on its own merits. As regards the debate to which the hon. member refers, I may observe that the speeches of the unofficial members, four of whom had previously signed the report of the Select Committee against the abolition of the tax, will show the difficulty which is felt in dealing with the subject. The burgher representative it may be noted stated distinctly that he was not an advocate for the entire abolition of the tax, but for its reduction. Pending the decision of Her Majesty's Government, it would be impossible to permit any individual official to give his vote for the abolition of so important a portion of the Colonial Revenue.

February 25.

### INDIAN RAILWAY ANNUITIES.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is intended to renew the system in practice before February 1885, under which the Government of India converted Railway Annuities into India Three per Cent. Stock, it being at that time temporarily suspended with the understanding that it would be renewed after 1888; and, whether the advantages of that operation to the Government of India were considerable.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): There is no present intention of renewing the offer to holders of Indian Railway Annuities to convert them into India 3 per cent. stock. When the practice was suspended there was no undertaking that it would be renewed at any particular time, though the Secretary of State in Council may, perhaps, renew it, if he should think fit. The direct advantages to the Government from the operation were considerable. In 1888 however, Parliament authorised the creation of a limited amount of India stock in connection with the construction of railways by the agency of companies; and under this power a certain amount of stock has been annually issued on public tender. It is not desirable to be offering stock to the market in two different ways at the same time.

February 26.

### THE BOMBAY ABKARI ACT.

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire) presented a petition from the inhabitants of Bombay, Thana, Kolaba, Surat, and various parts of the Presidency of Bombay, stating that the petitioners were British subjects and praying for the redress of certain wrongs at the hands of the Excise Department of the Government of Bombay. The petition stated that throughout the Presidency of Bombay and especially along the Western coast line palm trees grow, which yield a juice locally called "toddy"—a juice which when fresh is sweet and non-alcoholic. When allowed to stand for some hours it ferments and its alcoholic strength is then estimated to be about half that of ordinary English ale. It is in its fermented state that it is more commonly used. This drink has been for ages the favourite and harmless drink of millions of the poor, and especially the labouring classes. It is available to the poor at a rate scarcely above 4 pies (or half a penny) per bottle. In 1878 the Government of Bombay passed an excise law called the Bombay Abkari Act which gave them plenary powers to deal with all spirituous liquors, and this law was made applicable to raw toddy as well as to distilled spirits. The law has been enforced with unexampled severity. The right of drawing and selling toddy was withdrawn and a monopoly was granted to the liquor farmer who undertook to pay the largest sum to the Government for the exclusive privilege. The result has been that the liquor farmer has ceased to draw and sell toddy and the consumption of spirits has increased in consequence. Although since the year 1882 the system of toddy farming has been gradually abolished the Government have retained a very heavy tree tax on all toddy trees, and have placed various restriction upon the drawing and sale of raw toddy which have made it difficult to procure in many places and have rendered it so dear where it is to be had that it is out of the power of the poor to obtain it. Whereas good raw toddy was sold at 4 pies a bottle in 1878 it is not now procurable under 12 pies a bottle, a price which is absolutely prohibitory for the vast majority of the poor. The petitioners express their belief that the object of this heavy taxation is to prevent the toddy from coming into competition with distilled spirits of which liquor farmers annually obtain a monopoly from the Government of Bombay. They complain that the result of this boycotting of toddy is a serious loss to Her Majesty's subjects all round. The property of the tree owners has been largely destroyed, as not a tithe of the trees formerly tapped are now used; the great mass of the poor have been deprived of a good and cheap food and a mild and harmless beverage; whereas many of those who were formerly satisfied with toddy have now taken to other liquor which is procurable with more facility. The Government of Bombay have repeatedly acknowledged the harmlessness and healthful character of toddy, but have refused to relax the severity of the taxation on the ground that illicit distillation would follow the use of cheap toddy. The petitioners maintain that illicit distillation ought to be dealt with under the ordinary criminal law and the exceptional powers given to the executive by the Abkari Act without depriving the people of a necessary article of food by reason of its abuse by a few dishonest men. Although English imported beer is taxed in India at the rate of one anna a gallon, raw toddy, which is only half as strong, is taxed at the rate of 2 to 2½ annas. Over and above the tree tax there is a license fee levied in some places which amounts to an additional tax of an anna per gallon. For these reasons the petitioners pray that the tax on toddy trees throughout the Presidency of Bombay may be reduced to a reasonable sum.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

### OPIUM SMOKING IN BURMA.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention had been called to a pamphlet by Maurice Gregory, describing the ravages of opium smoking in Burma, wherein he states that there are 1,000 opium dens in the Akyab district instead of a single one, as officially reported; that he has seen large numbers of Burmese smoking, and that, in fact, the great bulk of opium was consumed by them, although it is stated in Government documents that opium is not sold to the Burmese, but only to Chinese and Natives of India resident at Burma: whether he is aware that opium smoking is forbidden by the ancient Burmese laws and by the Buddhist religion, and that whereas, in the time of the late King of Upper Burma, Chinese opium vendors when caught were flogged and imprisoned, they now travel in first-class railway carriages, and are on terms of friendship with the highest English officials: and, whether the Government will ask for information from Burma about the truth of these charges.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The attention of the Secretary of State has been called to the pamphlet. There is but one licensed opium shop in Akyab, and if information were given to the police of the others they would be suppressed. Opium smoking was forbidden by former Burmese rulers, but the prohibition was much disregarded. Many of the statements in the pamphlet are, so far as the Secretary of State can test, them incorrect; but enquiry as to the facts alleged will be made from the Government of India.

February 27.

### INDIAN LETTERS.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON: I beg to ask the Postmaster General, whether, now that the postage on letters sent from the United Kingdom to India has been reduced from 5d. to 2½d. per half-ounce, it is intended to maintain the charge of 2d. for a postcard sent from this country to India and Ceylon;

And, whether he is aware that the Ceylon Post Office charges 1d. for a postcard, which can be sent to the United Kingdom or to any other part of the world, and that the charge for a postcard from France to India or Ceylon is also 1d.?

Mr. RAIKES: In view of the circumstances adverted to in my previous answer, I think it will be the better course not to deal separately with the Indian postcards. I do not, however, deny that the facts mentioned by the hon. member appear to constitute some valid reason for effecting a change in the present rate when a favourable occasion occurs.

### OVERCHARGES ON INDIAN STORES.

Mr. BURT (Morpeth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will state the decision of the arbitrator to whom the matter was referred, *re* the dispute between the War Office and the India Office, as to alleged overcharges, extending through a series of years on stores supplied to the Government of India? and, whether he will lay upon the Table a memorandum giving particulars of the arbitration.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I can assure the hon. member that the matter has not been lost sight of, but it involves greater difficulties than at first sight appears. The arbitrator has not yet been able to come to a decision.

March 5.

### INFANT MARRIAGES.

Mr. KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to the great excitement and apprehension which has been caused in India by the introduction into the Governor General's Council by Sir Andrew Scoble of a Bill fixing the age of consent, in the case of married girls at twelve years;

Whether he is aware that puberty very frequently takes place in Indian females before the age of twelve years, while there is no system of registration of births, and consequently no certitude as to the real age of the great majority of the population;

Whether he is aware that strong resolutions have been passed at mass meetings throughout the Indian Empire protesting against the Bill on the grounds that the European officials responsible for it are ignorant of the injurious effects which it will produce in the social and domestic life of the people, that it will lead to the ruin of innocent families by the fabrication of false charges and put a premium on oppression and extortion by subordinate officials, and declaring that it is a direct interference with native religion and usage, and a clear infringement of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858;

Whether it is the case, as stated in the Indian press, that this Bill has been brought in at the request of Her Majesty's Government in consequence of a single case of brutality by a bridegroom having occurred during the last thirty years;

And, whether the Government of India will now be advised to withdraw a measure which is viewed with the gravest apprehension by large masses of the Indian people?

Mr. PICTON (Leicester): Before the question is answered, I should like to ask the right hon. gentleman if he is aware or if he has

seen a memorandum addressed to the Governor-General by fifty-five leading physicians in reference to a large number of cases which have come within their own experience, in which they declare in the strongest terms against these marriages?

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I wish to supplement the questions which have just been asked by another, namely, whether the right hon. gentleman is aware that the most intelligent class of Hindus and nearly all the Muhammadans are in favour of raising the age to twelve years.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.-E.): I have been requested by my right hon. friend, the Under Secretary for India to reply to this question, and to say that the Bill in question was introduced by the Government of India with a full knowledge of the facts of the case; and after very careful consideration. There is no intention of withdrawing it. In regard to the questions of the hon. member for Leicester (Mr. Picton), and of the hon. member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith), I am not in a position to answer them, and if further information is required, notice had better be given.

Mr. KEAY: Will the right hon. gentleman kindly answer the third and fourth paragraphs of the question?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: I think the answer I have given is intended to cover the whole of the question. It is impossible, I believe, to enter into details.

## MAGAZINE RIFLES FOR INDIA.

Mr. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether the cost of magazine rifles made by contract is correctly stated in the letter from the War Office to the Under Secretary for India, dated 27th June, 1890, viz., "The full price of the rifle is £5 12s. 6d., made up as follows: contracting price, £5 9s.; butt and fore end (supplied to the contractors free by the War Office), 10½d. and 1s. 7½d. respectively; cost of extra view of certain components by War Office during manufacture of rifle, 1s.; total, £5 12s. 6d. (Note.—The orginal contract price was £5 10s., it was reduced to £5 9s. on account of extra view.) Accordingly, the total price payable by you for each rifle is £5 12s. 6d., as follows: to the company, £2 14s. 6d.; to the War Office, £2 18s.; total, £5 12s. 6d.:"

Whether the contract price for bayonets and scabbards is 13s. and 2s. 2½d. respectively;

And, what is the stimated cost of bayonets and scabbards made in the Government factories.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. Stanhope, Lincoln, Horncastle): The prices are correctly stated in the question. The contract prices for bayonets and scabbards is 12s. and 3s. 8d. The two together are now made for 14s. 8d.

## COST OF CIVIL JUSTICE IN INDIA.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State has yet ascertained whether any papers relating to the cost of civil justice in India can usefully be published; and, if the inquiry, promised in June, 1890, has resulted in the finding of such papers, whether they will be placed in the hands of honourable members.

Sir J. FERGUSSON (for Sir J. Gorst): I presume that the hon. member refers to an answer given to the late Mr. Bradlaugh in July last. I am requested to say that an answer was given to the first question in December last, and that the whole subject is under consideration. The proposals of the Government of India have not yet been submitted to the Indian Council.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Can the right hon. gentleman say whether definite information may be shortly expected?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: No sir; I am unable to say.

## BOMBAY SALT ACT.

Mr. CONYBEABE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State will direct the Government of Bombay to so amend the Bombay Salt Act that it shall not be possible for such acts as the boiling of water containing salt, duly purchased, accidentally spilled therein, or the boiling down of dirty salt, bought openly in the bazaar, to purify it, to be described as the "manufacture" of salt, rendering parties doing these things liable to punishment;

Whether a recent judgment of the High Court of Bombay, while holding the punishment inflicted for the offences described above was excessive, and that the sentences should be nominal only, yet held that they were offences under the Act, punishable with fine and imprisonment;

Whether, in legislation relating to the Government salt monopoly in India prior to the passing of the Bombay Act of 1890, similar provisions were contained;

And, whether in other parts of the Empire Salt Acts contain like clauses; and, if not, why such provisions should be required for Bombay?

Sir J. FERGUSSON (for Sir J. Gorst): The attention of the Government of Bombay has been called to the subject by questions which have been asked in this House, and it is receiving consideration. The answer to the second paragraph of the question is—Yes. The answer to the third paragraph is that the provisions of the Bombay Act are more precise than those contained in the former Act; and the answer to the fourth paragraph is—Yes.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I am not quite satisfied by the answer of the right hon. gentleman whether any steps are being taken by the Indian Government to prevent the evils complained of.

Sir J. FERGUSSON: I believe the Secretary of State considers that the law as it is administered is satisfactory.

March 9.

## SHEIKH ABDUL RASOUL.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he can now specify the particular statute law or regulation under which the Indian Government arrested Sheikh Abdul Rasoul and imprisoned him for nine months without trial and without bringing any charge against him;

Whether the regulation under which the Government acted in this matter is the same as that under which Henry Silk Buckingham was deported from India in or about the year 1818;

Whether such regulation has ever been embodied in the Indian Penal Code;

Whether he can state the circumstances under which this regulation was continued after the transfer of the powers of the old East India Company to the Imperial Government;

Whether he will give a Return of the names of all the persons, native or otherwise, who have been arrested without charge or trial and deported under this or any other statute or regulation during the last fifty years, together with the particular circumstances of each case;

And, whether there exists in India any Habeas Corpus Act or other statutory provisions whereby any person so arrested without warrant may claim to be brought to trial without delay?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.E.): In the absence of my right hon. friend, the Under Secretary for India, I have been requested to answer the question. To the first paragraph of the question my answer is that the regulation under which the Indian Government arrested Sheikh Abdul Rasoul is, as was stated on February 16th, No. III of 1818. The answer to the second question is "No", and the answer to the third question is also in the negative. The reply to question No. 4 is that the regulation was retained in the interests of public safety. The Secretary of State considers that it would be detrimental to the public interest to publish the names of the persons who have been arrested without charge or trial and deported under this or any other statute or regulation during the last fifty years. The answer to the sixth paragraph of the question is in the negative.

Later in the sitting,

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the right hon. baronet, whether he can now state the result of his inquiries into the case of Sheikh Abdul Rasoul;

What was the result of the interview, which took place on the 5th instant, between Rasoul and Sir Gerald Fitzgerald at the India Office;

Whether the Government have offered to pay to Rasoul the expenses he has incurred in this Country since he was deported from India and landed here against his will, and to give him a passage back to India;

Will he explain on what grounds the Government have refused Rasoul any compensation for the imprisonment inflicted upon him, and will he now either state the cause of complaint, or prefer a charge against him;

And, in the event of Rasoul returning to India, either on his own account or at the expense of the Government, will they give him a guarantee against future arrest or molestation.

Sir J. FERGUSSON: In answer to this question I have to say that Sheikh Abdul Rasoul saw an official. The Government have offered to refund his expenses in this country since his arrival in November, 1890, and he has been offered a passage to Bombay with permission to return to Kashmir. He was sent to London at his own request. If Sheikh Abdul Rasoul demands compensation he should address himself in the first instance to the Government of India, and in the event of their refusing him redress he should appeal to the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State is not in the possession of information which enables him to state the cause of complaint or prefer any charge. With regard to the last question, Sheikh Abdul Rasoul has been informed that he will not be arrested in the absence of fresh evidence.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I do not understand from the right hon. baronet that any offence has been alleged against this unfortunate man. If so, why are the Government proposing to send him back to India at their own expense?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: The Secretary of State has not been called upon to consider the merits of the case, but only the operation of the regulation which has already been referred to.

Mr. CONYBEARE: May I ask the right hon. baronet if the Government will kindly consider whether the course taken in reference to Henry Silk Buckingham may not be adopted in this case. Mr. Buckingham was deported from India and was allowed to receive compensation for loss of office. Will the Indian Government advise that a similar course shall be pursued in regard to Abdul Rasoul?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: That is a question which I am not in a position to answer.

## LICENSED OPIUM SHOPS IN INDIA.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire); I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he can state the number of opium shops which are licensed by the Government in India, and whether they amount to more than 10,000;

Whether his attention has been drawn to a statement that the consumption of opium in Lucknow has increased from 36,240 tolas in 1813-4 to 64,320 tolas in 1887-8, and whether he has reason to believe that this statement is correct;

Whether he can state if the consumption of opium in India is increasing generally;

Whether his attention has been drawn to a meeting called by the Chinese authorities at Singapore to petition Parliament to put a stop to the opium trade on account of its injurious tendency;

Whether he is aware that nearly half the revenue of Singapore is derived from the opium traffic;

And, whether, seeing that in Great Britain it is unlawful to sell opium except by a duly qualified and registered druggist under stringent regulations and labelled poison, Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the expediency of adopting similar provisions with regard to its sale in India?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: The number of opium shops licensed by the Government of India amount to 10,417. In reply to the second question of the hon. member, I have to say that the attention of the Secretary of State has not been drawn to the statement referred to, but he is able to say that the consumption in Lucknow has increased in the proportion stated. The reply to paragraph three is that the consumption of opium in India is slowly increasing; but the questions

proposed in paragraphs four and five should be addressed to the Colonial Office. The answer to the last paragraph of the question is that the Secretary of State is not prepared to adopt such a provision.

March 11.

INCREASE OF DEATHS IN INDIA.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to the great increase of deaths in India during the years 1886-8, and especially to the increase of deaths from fever; and, in view of this great increase in the fever death rate, the Government will consider the duty of taking steps to promote better conditions of health among the people?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester N.E.) for the Under Secretary of State for India (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): Yes sir, the Secretary of State states that the statistics will be found at page 268 of the Statistical Abstract. They do not show a progressive increase in each year in the total number of deaths or in the number of deaths from fever, which latter depend in a great measure on the season. It should be remembered that the system of registration of vital statistics is being steadily improved and that being so a steady increase in the number of registered deaths may be expected. Sanitary reforms are attempted so far as the means and the sentiment of the native population permit it. In the rural tracts progress is necessarily slower than in the towns. The question is engaging the constant attention of the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Can the right hon. baronet say whether the deaths from 1886 to 1888 from fever were in excess of those of the bad years from 1877 to 1879?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: I have not received information on that point, but I have heard that they were very numerous in 1877 when there was a very heavy rainfall, and that they were much lower in the next year—1878, not much more than 50 per cent.—that being a year when there was a light rainfall. I know of my own knowledge that the deaths in those years from disease were accurately recorded.

HIGH PRICES OF SALT IN INDIA AND THE SPREAD OF LEPROSY.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay the price of salt has risen from 9 annas and 8 annas per maund in 1800 to R2·11 and R2·8 in 1890, respectively;

Whether he can state the facts as to increase or otherwise in the price of salt for the other Presidencies during the same period;

Whether in India the average consumption of salt per head for all purposes in only 10lb., while in the United Kingdom it is 72lb.;

Whether it is a fact that leprosy has also increased during the same period;

And whether the Government will direct the especial attention of the Medical Commission on Leprosy now in India to an investigation of the apparent connection between the want of cheap salt and the spread of leprosy?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: The answer to the first question is in the affirmative as regards Madras, but the Secretary of State cannot state the prices of salt in Bombay at the beginning of the century. The Secretary of State cannot give the information asked for in the second question for the earlier years of the century; but if the hon. member wishes it the Secretary of State can place at his disposal statistics going back to 1841. The answer to the third question is that the average consumption of salt in India varies from 8lbs. to 18lbs. in the various provinces. For all India it is 11lbs. The reply to the fourth question is that there is no certain information as to the increase of leprosy. Lepers were counted at the census of 1881, but the results of the census taken last month are not known. As to the last question, I have to say that the Medical Commission now sitting will doubtless consider the question of the connection which has been said to exist between insufficient salt and the prevalence of leprosy.

Mr. MacNEILL (Donegal, S.): May I ask the right hon. baronet if the increase in leprosy is not owing to the increase in the taxation of salt? Was not the taxation of salt reduced in Lord Ripon's time?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: No doubt that is the case, but my right hon. friend the Under Secretary for India stated not long ago that the price of salt used to be much higher in some places than in others.

Mr. MacNEILL: Is the right hon. baronet aware that two native gentlemen, members of the Viceroy's Council, have protested in the strongest terms against this taxation of salt?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: I am afraid that I cannot answer that question.

ARRESTS WITHOUT WARRANTS IN INDIA.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India how many persons have been arrested on suspicion and imprisoned without trial or deported under Regulation 3 of 1818 since that date to the present time;

Whether the said regulation is printed in any of the official records of the India Office;

And why it has never been embodied in the Indian Penal Code?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: In answer to the first question of the hon. member I have to say that the Secretary of State has not the information. Regulation III. of 1818 does not authorise deportation. The reply to the second question is "Yes," Parliamentary Return No. 59, of the 20th February, 1821. So far as the third question is concerned, I may say that the subjects of the code and regulation are entirely distinct.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Upon that answer may I ask the right hon. gentleman whether I did not understand him to say yesterday in answer to a question of mine, that Mr. Henry Silk Buckingham was deported under Regulation III.

Sir J. FERGUSSON: Nothing of the kind. I said that he left India at his own wish.

Mr. CONYBEARE: The question which I put to the right hon. gentleman yesterday bearing upon this matter, was whether Sheikh Abdul Rasoul had not been deported under the same Regulation as applied to the case of Mr. Henry Silk Buckingham in 1818. What I want to know is whether, if Regulation III of 1818 does not authorise deportation; under what regulation was Sheikh Abdul Rasoul deported, his declaration being that he was deported against his will.

Sir J. FERGUSSON: The difference is this: I am informed that Abdul Rasoul was not deported.

Subsequently—

Mr. CONYBEARE said: There is one point in the question upon which I wish to ask a further question, namely, how many persons have been arrested on suspicion and imprisoned without trial, or deported under Regulation III of 1818 since that date to the present time. I think I understood the answer of the right hon. gentleman to be that the Regulation did not authorise deportation. I do not ask for names and particulars, but can the right hon. gentleman give me the number of persons who have been imprisoned during a certain period without trial merely on suspicion.

Sir J. FERGUSSON: I think I stated yesterday that no information has been furnished me, and that the Secretary of State is not in possession of the information.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Could not the right hon. gentleman get the information?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: I will inform the Secretary of State of the wish of the hon. gentleman.

March 12.

JOHORE.

Mr. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in the year 1889, an intimation was given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Johore Government that the Sultan should if possible arrange with the Singapore Government for the construction of a railway in the territory of Johore;

And whether any railway concession was negotiated by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, acting under the direction of the Secretary of State, in substitution for a concession granted by the Sultan in April, 1888, to certain British subjects.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. De Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): The Sultan of Johore is an independent ruler. The Secretary of State suggested that his Highness should, if he thought fit, confer with the Government of the Straits Settlements as to the line to be adopted for any railway constructed in his territory with a view to such line agreeing with the general system of railway communication established or contemplated in other States of the Malay Peninsular. The Crown Agents acted by the leave of, but not under instructions from, the Secretary of State in the conduct of the negotiations as to which they received instructions direct from the Sultan.

BRITISH INDIANS IN MOZAMBIQUE.

Mr. ALFRED PEASE (York): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether her Majesty's Government has received any information respecting the shipment of a number of Indian British subjects, who are reported to have been taken to Mozambique, at the end of 1889 or the beginning of 1890, by Portuguese, ostensibly to work upon railroads, but in reality to be enlisted as soldiers; or as to what has become of these men, some of whom are reported to have been ill-treated, flogged, and sent "up country," and not to have returned.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.E.): Some British Indians were enlisted by the Portuguese in Goa, and were sent to Mozambique in January, 1890. In consequence of reports that the enlistment was irregular, inquiry was made by the Indian Government, who ascertained that there had been no misrepresentation in the conduct of the business, which was not illegal. The men are understood to be still in the Portuguese service, in which they would be liable to be moved about; but no report has been received respecting them since their first arrival.

OPIUM SMOKING.

Sir G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I congratulate the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India upon being sufficiently restored to health to be in his place. I beg to ask him if the Secretary of State has any information of the recent growth in India (apart from Burmah) of the Chinese habit of opium smoking, as distinguished from the opium eating always practised to a limited extent in India and other countries; if so, whether any inquiry has been made regarding the alleged greater temptations and injuriousness of the new practice of smoking; and whether any special steps have been taken to limit and restrain houses for the smoking of opium, and check the practice; or, if information on this subject has not reached the Secretary of State, whether he will inquire of the Government of India.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): In reply to the first question of the hon. gentleman, I have to say that the Secretary of State has received no reports which lead him to the belief that the practice of opium smoking as distinguished from opium eating is increasing. The reply to the second question of the hon. gentleman is that special attention has been given to the subject in the North-West Provinces and Punjaub, with the result that the number of licensed saloons has been greatly reduced.

In reply to a further question by Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire),

Sir J. GORST said: I am afraid that I must deprecate the putting of questions upon this subject, which involve details, without notice.

THE AMENDED INDIA FACTORY ACT.

Mr. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether her Majesty's Government will instruct the Government of India in framing the amended India Factory Act to accord the same protection to the working classes of India that has been granted by the English Factory and Workshop Act to the working classes of this country.

Sir J. GORST: I must refer the hon. member to the statement made on this subject by the First Lord of the Treasury on the 17th of February, to which the Secretary of State has nothing to add.

HIGH PRICES OF FOOD, CROP FAILURES, AND REMISSION OF REVENUE.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): As the Under Secretary for India is not in his place at this moment, perhaps the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs will be able to say what remissions, if any, were made by the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Province of Oudh to the State tenants in 1887-8, when the average price of food was more than one-third higher than the average of the six preceding years; and whether he can state how far there is any connection between the high prices ruling in 1887-8 and the fact that the recorded death-rate in India in that year was the highest known.

Sir J. FERGUSSON: I am afraid that I cannot reply to the question. As the hon. member knows, I am not answerable for Indian questions.

INDIA FACTORY ACT.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether in the last few months he has received deputations and communications from Lancashire members on the subject of the amendment of the Indian Factory Act, and her Majesty's Government have consequently urged the demands of those members on the Government of India; and if the correspondence so occasioned, subsequent to the despatches on the Berlin Conference already laid upon the Table, can be produced now that the Government of India has submitted a Bill to the Indian Legislature.

The FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith, Strand): The only communication I have had was with the hon. member for Oldham (Mr. Maclean), and I answered this question some time ago. To the best of my recollection, he asked me to answer a question which he had placed on the paper, and I begged him to postpone it in order that I might transmit the question to India and obtain a reply. There is no correspondence on the subject which I am able to produce.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: Is there any truth in the paragraph which appears in the *Times* this morning to the effect that certain parts of the Bill have been presented to the Indian Legislature contrary to the pledges given to the Imperial Parliament, and have not been accepted?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I am not aware whether there is any truth in that statement or not. The hon. member has not given me notice of the question, or I would have informed myself.

March 13.

RENTS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

Mr. BURT (Morpeth): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether a resettlement of the Central Provinces has been proceeding during the past three years, and whether, as regards some villages, the rents have been raised some forty, some fifty, and some even a hundred per cent.; and whether the Secretary of State will obtain and lay on the Table particulars showing, district by district, in the Nagpur, Chattisgarh, Jubbulpore and Nerbudda Divisions, the rent at which they were assessed under the old settlement, and the rates which it is intended the tenants shall pay under the new settlement.

The UNDER SECRETARY FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The answer to the first question is yes. As to the second question, the Secretary of State will call for particulars of the results of resettlement so far as they have proceeded. None have yet, so far as the Secretary of State is aware, been made in the Nagpur or Nerbudda divisions. He will consider whether the papers, when received, can be laid on the Table.

ANGLO-PORTUGUESE INDIAN TREATIES.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if any papers will be presented explaining the motives for and the circumstances under which Her Majesty's Government have denounced the treaties with Portugal regarding the Indian possessions of the two countries, as notified in the "Gazette" of March 10.

The UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson): The Goa Treaty of 1878 is considered by the Government of India to have been found in practice a disadvantageous arrangement and to require alteration in certain of its provisions. At their request instructions were sent to Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon to denounce the treaty under the provision contained in its 22nd Article. The Government of India, are, however, willing to renew the treaty on suitable terms, and negotiations will shortly be opened at Lisbon with that object. It is not intended to present any papers on the subject at present.

EAST INDIA OFFICERS BILL.

In the House of Lords on Monday evening, 16th March, this Bill came on for third reading.

The SECRETARY FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross) said: My lords, I have an amendment to add a new clause to this Bill. A question has been raised whether the illness of the Governor-General and other officers, and the necessity of their coming home might be considered a public ground. It has therefore been thought necessary to introduce a new clause in order to make that quite clear. The members of the Council and the Lieutenant-Governors can all come home on sick leave at the present moment, and this is only to put the other members on the same footing.

Moved after clause 2, to insert the following clause:

3. "It shall be lawful for the Secretary of State in Council to grant to any of the several officers specified in the second schedule to this Act leave of absence from his duties under medical certificate for a period not exceeding six months, and the absence whether in or out of India of any such officer upon leave under medical certificate as aforesaid shall not be deemed in law a resignation and avoidance of his office or offices or employment, but such officer during such absence on leave under medical certificate shall retain his office or offices and shall on his return to and assumption of his duties receive half his salary for the period of such absence, but if his absence shall exceed six months his office or offices shall be vacated."

On question. Agreed.

Verbal consequential amendments.

Bill read third time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—March 16.

EAST INDIA (INDIGO CULTIVATION).

Ordered: Address for return of correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India relating to the cultivation of indigo in Bengal.—(*Mr. Howorth, Salford S.*)

MAURITIUS (EX-SULTAN ABDULLAH OF PERAK).

Ordered: Address for return of correspondence between the Government of Mauritius and the Colonial Office with reference to the case of the ex-Sultan Abdullah of Perak.—(*Mr. S. F. Stevenson, Suffolk, Eye*).

THE OPIUM TRADE.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been drawn to a petition to Parliament on the subject of the opium trade signed by over 11,000 Chinese residents of Singapore, wherein they pray of the British administration "not to ruin them morally, physically, and materially, by affording facilities for carrying on the traffic in this most pernicious drug:"

And, whether he can state if nearly half the revenue of Singapore is derived from the opium traffic?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): My attention has not been drawn to a petition on the subject of the opium trade signed by Chinese residents of Singapore complaining of the facilities afforded to the trade. In reply to the last question of the hon. member I may say that the opium traffic produces more than one-half of the total revenue of the colony of Singapore.

THE INDIAN FACTORY BILL.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if is is true, as stated in the *Times* of March 11, that the Secretary of State has intimated to the Indian Government that certain parts of the Factory Bill submitted by them to the Indian Legislative Council "would be contrary to pledges given in the Imperial Parliament, and could not be accepted"; if so, when and to whom those pledges were given:

Whether, since the despatches of May and July 1890, the Secretary of State has been in further communication with the Viceroy regarding the Factory Act:

And, whether, now that the communications have resulted in a Bill, he will lay the further correspondence upon the Table?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): In answer to the first paragraph of the hon. member's question I have to say that the statements made in Parliament by the First Lord of the Treasury regarding the Indian Factory Bill which are I presume referred to in the question have not formed the subject of communication by the Secretary of State to the Government of India. The answer to the second paragraph is in the affirmative. The reply to the third paragraph is that the presentation of further correspondence will be considered by the Secretary of State as soon as the new Indian Factory Act is received.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: In regard to the reply of the right hon. gentleman to the first part of the question, may I point out that the Under Secretary has given me an answer to a question which I did not ask, while he has not answered the question which I did ask? Is the right hon. gentleman aware, as stated in the *Times* of March 11, that the Secretary of State has intimated to the Indian Government that certain parts of the Factory Bill submitted by them to the Indian Legislative Council is contrary to pledges given in the Imperial Parliament and cannot be accepted; and if so, when and to whom those pledges were given?

Sir J. GORST: The hon. member, I presume, has been in his place in this House and must have heard the answers of the First Lord of the Treasury to the various members who have put questions to him, and he must therefore know whether any pledges have been given. I may say that there has been no correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India in reference to any pledges which have been given in the Imperial Parliament.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: Is it true as stated in the *Times* that certain parts of the Bill submitted to the Indian Council are contrary to the pledges given in the Imperial Parliament? I ask whether that is true, or is not true?

No answer was returned.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: I beg to give notice that I will put the question down for to-morrow.

THE BOMBAY SALT ACT.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether manufacture of salt is defined in the Bombay Salt Act, under which two native women were recently convicted and punished, to be not merely the preparation of salt for trade purposes, but "every process for the purification or refinement of salt":

Is he aware that it is by the process of evaporation over fire, which the definition clause of the Act defines to be manufacture, that the dirty bazaar salt is prepared for table use:

Is he aware that the salt, for the treatment of which by the above process the women were punished, had already paid duty:

Whether the cases were referred by the district magistrate to the High Court in order to ascertain if there was any way of escape from the hard and fast definition and prohibition contained in the Act: that Justices Birdwood and Parsons found that there was not; and that Mr. Justice Birdwood declared that the definition of manufacture in the Act "would apparently convert into crimes some perfectly innocent practices connected with the use of salt for domestic purposes":

Whether, in the face of so strong an expression of opinion by the learned judge, he still adheres to his decision that the law shall continue to be enforced:

And, whether he will cause a Return to be prepared, showing each case of alleged infraction of the Act, the nature of the offence, and the punishment inflicted?

Sir J. GORST: The answer to the first paragraph of the question of the hon. member is yes, and to the second, yes. The reply to the third paragraph is that the newspaper report of the High Court decision states that the salt was not alleged to be contraband. The answer to the fourth paragraph is that the words quoted occur in the newspaper report. In reply to paragraph five, I have to say that the law will be enforced with discretion and if it is found necessary will be amended. The answer to the last paragraph of the question is that if the hon. member will consult the Bombay Annual Salt report he will find there an account of salt prosecutions and the result thereof.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Do I understand that the right hon. gentleman controverts the accuracy of the report of Mr. Justice Birdwood's statement that the definition of the manufacture of Salt in the Act "would apparently convert into crimes some perfectly innocent practices connected with the use of salt for domestic purposes?"

Sir J. GORST; No, sir, I said that the Secretary of State had received no official communication in regard to this trial but that the words quoted by the hon. member do appear in the newspaper report.

## THE RACK-RENTING AND DEATHS IN GURGAON.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the official, since dead, to whose mistake, in refusing to suspend a part of the Land Revenue in Gurgaon in 1877, he has publicly attributed the losses of human life and cattle during the years 1877 and 1882, and the great indebtedness then incurred, was Mr. Gore Ouseley, then Financial Commissioner of the Punjab:

Whether, in the year 1877, a circular was issued by the Government of India from Simla, commanding that as large a proportion as might be possible of the revenues were to be collected:

Whether Mr. Gore Ouseley was bound to obey that circular; and, if so, why he is to be held more to blame for the disaster than his superior officers:

Whether he is aware that the prevention of similar mistakes for the future in the Gurgaon District depends not upon the general Famine Codes, as stated by him on 18th February last, but on the terms of a resolution, referred to by Sir James Lyall in his orders on the Gurgaon Settlement, in which it is stated that the full revenue of insecure tracts shall not be realised in years of severe and long-continued drought:

And, what security exists that this resolution will not be set aside if (as was the case in 1877) Imperial necessities forbid a relaxation.

Sir J. GORST: In reply to the first question of the hon. member I have to say that the Secretary of State respectfully declines to give the name of the deceased officer. The answer to paragraph two is that no such circular can be traced. In regard to paragraph three officers are bound to obey general orders unless special circumstances justify a departure. As to paragraph four, my answer on the 18th of February last was correct, and the reply to the last question of the hon. member is that the securities which exist are the vigilance of the Government of India, of the Secretary of State in Council, and of the Imperial Parliament.

## ABDUL RASOUL.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether Abdul Rasoul was arrested at Bombay in consequence of communications received from the India Office by the Commissioner of Police at Bombay:

What action on the part of Rasoul prior to his arrival in Bombay led the India Office to forward instructions for his arrest:

For how long a period had Rasoul been an object of suspicion to the India House authorities, and on what grounds was such suspicion based:

Is it the fact that Rasoul was escorted from the gaol at Assirgad on board the Peninsular and Oriental steamer "Assam" by a sergeant of police and seven constables, and his passage paid for him:

What further information, or action on the part of Rasoul, has led the India House authorities to the conclusion that Rasoul is now neither a danger to the Empire nor an object of suspicion:

And, did any, and what, communications pass between the India Office and the Viceroy, in consequence of which the latter telegraphed to the Chief Commissioner of Police at Bombay that he was to send back Rasoul to London?

Sir J. GORST: The answer to the first question is in the negative; the second and third therefore fall to the ground. The reply to the fourth question is that the Secretary of State has no information about Abdul Rasoul's journey from Assirgad to the Peninsular and Oriental steamer. His passage was paid for him by the Government. In answer to the fifth paragraph of the question I have to say that the Secretary of State has received no fresh information about Abdul Rasoul; but this answer must not be taken as admitting the conclusion attributed to him in the question. In reply to the sixth paragraph of the question my answer is that no such communication passed.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I understand that Abdul Rasoul has been interviewed by the authorities of the India Office. If that is so, is the right hon. gentleman still under the impression whether or not he was escorted from the Central Provinces to Bombay by the police. Was it not a police escort that brought him down from Assirgad to Bombay; and if so, I want to know, in spite of any statement to the contrary, the Government intend to maintain that Abdul Rasoul came to England at his own express wish, and not against his wish?

Sir J. GORST: That is exactly the point on which the Secretary of State has no official information. He does not know how Abdul Rasoul came, except that he came by steamer. As to the latter point, there is no doubt that Abdul Rasoul did request an escort.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Abdul Rasoul says that he did not demand an escort. I think it would save the time of the House if the right hon. gentleman will make inquiry upon these points, because I shall have to repeat the question until I get a satisfactory answer. Will the right hon. gentleman do his best to obtain the information?

No answer was returned.

## THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND OUDH.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, what remissions, if any, were made by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Province and Oudh to the State tenants in 1887-8, when the average price of food was more than one-third higher than the average of the six preceding years:

And, whether he can state how far there is any connection between the high price ruling in 1887-8 and the fact that the recorded death rate in India in that year was the highest known?

Sir J. GORST: The answer to the first question is that the remissions in 1877-8 were Rs. 214,315. At the end of the year Rs. 282,000 were held over, uncollected of which Rs. 104,563 were eventually remitted. In reply to the second question I have to say that the connection between high prices and high death-rate must be a matter of opinion. The high death-rate of 1887-8 was chiefly caused by cholera and fever.

March 19.

## INDIAN ARMY OFFICERS' PRIVILEGE LEAVE.

Mr. KING (Hull, Central): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether it is customary to allow officers of the Indian Army 90 days' privilege leave, of which they avail themselves to make brief visits to the United Kingdom; whether it is usual to count the 90 days from the day when the officer leaves the station where he is serving wherever it may be situated in any part of India or Burmah, the difference in some cases between Bombay, the necessary point of departure from India for so short an absence, and many of the stations varying from two or three days to three weeks or over in going and returning; whether, having regard to the fact that officers in the Bombay Army stationed in or near the City of Bombay have a great advantage over officers in up-country stations, or in Madras, Bengal, and Burmah, the Secretary of State will consider the advisability of recommending to the Indian Government that in the case of privilege leave for 90 days the leave shall count from the date of embarkation for England at the port of Bombay, regulations being framed as to the additional time to be allowed from the various stations or districts to the port of embarkation; and whether, as the season for leave is rapidly approaching, an early intimation can be given to that effect.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The answer to Questions 1 and 2 is in the affirmative, and with regard to Questions 3 and 4 I have to say that the Secretary of State is not prepared to take any action in the matter.

## THE ARREST OF CAPTAIN DRURY.

Mr. KING: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the attention of the Secretary of State has been directed to the fact that Captain Drury, of the 3rd Goorkha Regiment serving in Burmah, has been kept under arrest for more than ten weeks without being brought to trial, and whether this is in contravention of the Queen's Regulations; whether it is true, as stated in a recent telegram to the *Times*, that Captain Drury has been kept under arrest at the instance of high civilian authorities, on the ground that he has refused to apologise for a communication which he is charged with having forwarded to the *Rangoon Times*, and whether he does not deny having made any such communication; whether he has asked to be brought to trial, and why his request is refused; whether he has now been released without any explanation being offered, and without being brought to trial; and whether he will be compensated.

Sir J. GORST: The Secretary of State has no official information with regard to Captain Drury, who belongs to the 2nd, and not the 3rd, Goorkhas. I have, however, observed from the reports in the ordinary channels of information that Captain Drury has been released.

Mr. KING: May I ask whether he has any chance of obtaining compensation?

No answer was returned.

## MILITARY FURLOUGH RULES IN INDIA.

Mr. KING: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that by the Military Furlough Rules of November, 1868, it was provided that all officers who entered the Staff Corps after that date were promised that if they would enter the service of the Indian Government they should receive when on furlough half-pay "calculated at the rate of 2s. for every rupee;" that between November, 1868, and July, 1871, a considerable number of officers were drawn into the Indian Staff Corps from the British service by the promise of this and other advantages, and that in July, 1871, the rule was altered, and for the words above quoted were substituted the words "at the current rate of exchange;" whether it is usual or was intended to give this rule an *ex post facto* operation; Can he explain why since 1871 the Indian Government has refused to fulfil to officers who entered the Staff Corps between 1868 and 1871 the promise contained in the rule of 1868; whether on the other hand some officers who had joined the Staff Corps previously to November, 1868, have been granted the benefits of the rule of that date, on the ground that they had elected that rule, or on any other ground; and whether the Secretary of State has ruled that officers to whom the promise was directly held out as an inducement to join the service are to receive less favoured treatment than officers who were already in the service when the rule was made; and, if so, whether he will reconsider that ruling.

Sir J. GORST: The answer to the first question of the hon. member is in the affirmative. The answer to the second question is that it is not an *ex post facto* operation, but an operation on those officers who joined the Staff Corps between 1868 and 1871. As to questions No. 3 and 4, I have to say that the ground of distinction

between the two classes of officers is that one had elected the rules of 1868, having the option to do so or not, while the other had no such option. The answer to the last question of the hon. member is that the question has been repeatedly decided by successive Secretaries of State in Council, and as no new facts have been adduced, the Secretary of State does not consider that he would be warranted in disturbing their decision.

### EAST INDIA (SALARIES, &c.).

ORDERED.—Address for return of the number of persons receiving salaries, pay, fees, emoluments, allowances, pensions, or grants of public money, in the year 1889-90, from the Revenues of Her Majesty's Possessions in India, the amount of which is not less than 1,000 rupees for each person, stating the number of persons in grades or classes, the rate of salary or payment in each class, and the total amount in each class, showing those which belong to the Covenanted Civil Service, the Uncovenanted Service, and the Army, and distinguishing Europeans, Eurasians, and Natives of India;

Of the number of those not resident in India, those of any military rank who were employed in any civil capacity or service, and the names, alphabetically arranged, of all persons receiving pensions, Europeans, Eurasians, and Natives of India separately, and stating the length of service and the time since when each Pension has been paid;

And of any persons who were receiving at the same time any pension for past and salary for present service (in continuation of Returns presented on March 21 and July 25, 1881).—*(Mr. Keay, Elgin and Nairn.)*

### LABOURERS EMPLOYED IN INDIA.

Mr. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, N.): I beg to give notice that on this day four weeks I will call attention to the conditions under which labourers are employed in British India, and move a resolution.

MARCH 20.

### SALE OF OPIUM IN BURMAH.

Mr. HENRY J. WILSON (Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India when the authorities in Burmah set aside the regulation dated from Mandalay March 19, 1886, stating that "no shops whatever will be licensed for the sale of opium."

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.E.): I have been requested by my right hon. friend the Under Secretary for India to answer this question. The order quoted in the question from the Commissioners' instruction in March, 1886, was modified in 1888 for reasons and under restrictions described in the Parliamentary Return No. 338 of August 9, 1888.

### INDIAN COUNCILS BILL.

Mr. KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): Will the First Lord of the Treasury kindly say when the Indian Councils Bill will be taken?

The FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith, Strand): I am not in a position at present to say when it will be taken.

### EAST INDIA (SALARIES, &c.)

The return moved for by Mr. Keay yesterday in reference to the number of persons receiving pay, emoluments, pensions, &c. from the Indian Revenues was not granted, but was deferred until April 16.

MARCH 23.

### CHEAP POSTAGE.

Sir CHARLES DALRYMPLE (Ipswich): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he has in contemplation to remedy the great inconvenience to which British traders are put by the charges for transmitting printed matter to the Colonies;

And whether he is aware that British firms, in order to obtain the cheap postage prevalent on the Continent to India, Australia, New Zealand, &c., send large packages of price-lists and circulars to an agent abroad, to be posted there.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. Raikes, University of Cambridge): The subject is one which has been recently inquired into by a Departmental Committee, but I am not able to say whether any alteration can be made.

### INDIAN COUNCIL BILLS.

Mr. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the surplus drawings of Council Bills, which now exceed the amount estimated in the last Budget by about £750,000, without reckoning the sum announced to be drawn next week before the end of the present financial year, are in anticipation of the amount required next financial year, and will be deducted from the £16,000,000 estimated in the new Budget.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.E.): I beg, in the absence of my right hon. friend (Sir J. Gorst), to answer the question. The amount of £14,989,000 in the Budget for 1890-91 has, in the revised estimate just published, been raised to £15,989,000. The estimate for 1891-92 is £16,000,000. Unless the sum received up to the 31st instant exceeds £15,989,000, there will be no deduction from the £16,000,000 estimated for 1891-92.

Mr. MONTAGU: Can it not be possible in future to bring the balance nearer?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: The estimates are drawn as carefully as possible. The amount now estimated has been very carefully considered.

### OPIUM DENS IN LOWER BURMAH.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he supports the statement made in the official "Collection of Papers Relating to the Excise Administration of India" (page 334), issued by the Government of India in 1890, that there exists only one opium den in the Akyab district of Lower Burmah, or has he any further information which would support the statement that there are over 1,000 opium dens in that district; and what is the total of opium consumed in Upper and Lower Burmah in the years 1887, 1888, and 1889, respectively and separately?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: The answer to the first question of the hon. member is Yes. I must refer the hon. gentleman to the answer given to a similar question on the 26th of February, when it was stated that the Government of India would be asked to inquire into the allegations as to the number of opium shops; but that, according to the latest excise reports, there was only one licensed shop in the Akyab district, and that if information were given to the police of others they would be suppressed. No dispatch on the subject has been sent to the Government of India. The answer to the second question is that the lawful consumption of opium in Lower Burmah in 1887-8 was 48,226 seers; in 1888-9, 51,139 seers; and in 1888-9, 53,348 seers. No correct statistics exist for Upper Burmah. The Report for 1889-90 says that 669 seers were imported during those years, but that probably a much larger quantity was smuggled.

### TREATMENT OF TENANTS IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES OF INDIA.

Mr. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that a Government tenant, Rup Ram by name, farming 17 acres in the Jolesar Tahsil, Etah District, North-West Provinces, whose Kharif and Rabi crops in 1887 were of the value of Rs. 321 9 0, paid as rent Rs. 306, being 95 per cent of the gross produce; whether his attention has been called to the following cases cited in the report on the economical condition of the agricultural and labouring classes of the North-West Provinces of India (1886): Abe Ram, a cultivator of 21 fields in Nangaum, Payana Chhata, whose gross yield in 1887 was Rs. 70 4 0, the sum of Rs. 68 15 0 was taken for rent and canal dues, being 99 per cent. of the gross produce; Hira Singh and Bhara Singh (brothers), of Hazara, cultivators of 10 acres, whose gross yield in 1887 was Rs. 67, the sum of Rs. 40 11 6 was taken for rent; and Baksha, cultivator of 7 acres in the Jolesar Tahsil, District Etah, the gross produce in 1887 was Rs. 85, and the rent taken was Rs. 40; whether the above cases may be taken as samples of the manner in which the State, as landlord in the North-West Provinces, treats its tenants; and whether any remission of rent or delay for payment was granted; and, if not, under what circumstances are remissions or delays granted?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: In reply to questions No. 1 and No. 2, I have to say that it is a mistake to speak of these ryots as Government tenants. They are tenants of private landlords. Otherwise the facts are correctly reproduced from the Return presented to Parliament on the 21st of June, 1889. The Return, being very bulky, has never yet been printed. The reply to the third question is No. The ryots whose names are given were tenants, not of the State, but of private landlords. In the two districts concerned—Etah and Muttra—the State land revenue falls on the cultivated area at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per acre in Etah, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ rupees per acre in Muttra. The answer to the fourth question is that the Secretary of State cannot say whether the landlords in these cases granted remissions of rent, but the reports contained in the Parliamentary Return show that these ryots, with the exception of Abe Ram, were not in arrear with their rent, and were not seriously involved in debt.

MARCH 24.

### THE DRINK TRAFFIC IN INDIA.

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I desire to say a word or two in regard to an Indian grievance, and I avail myself of the opportunity at this late hour because if the matter is delayed until the Easter holidays are over it will be too late to remedy the evil complained of. The matter was dealt with in a question I put down on the paper for to-day but it was not possible to ask that question. I desire to call the attention of the hon. or right hon. gentleman opposite who represents the Government of India at this moment, to an Indian grievance. It springs out of what is called the arrack traffic. Two years ago we passed a resolution against that traffic, and the result of that resolution was that the Government of India adopted certain improvements in the administration of the law in this regard. The improvements were given effect to in a minute the Government issued about a year ago, and one of the points in that minute was this: it was set forth that the sites of the liquor shops should, as far as possible, be at a distance from market places, schools, hospitals, places of worship, factories, and places of public resort. The reason for this decision was that great complaints were made all over India of the Government placing liquor shops close to factories, churches, and schools with the view of inducing people to enter them. Great demoralization was caused by this practice of placing inducements in the way of people to indulge in liquor. In consequence of the representations made to them the Government issued the minute of which I have spoken, requiring the collectors to ascertain the public opinion as much as possible before opening the liquor shops. It required them to exercise a kind of local option in the matter. A great grievance has just been caused in the town of Madura, a town situated a short distance from Madras. Seventeen liquor shops were advertised to be opened out in most objectionable localities—close to temples, schools, and so on. They were to be opened at the beginning of this year. A petition was got up, signed by all the most respectable residents in the locality, with a view to inducing the collector to remove the shops. What do you suppose was the answer given to the petition? First it was that it could not be attended to because it was not stamped, and secondly, because there was not time to refer the matter to the highest authorities before the sale of the liquor shops was completed. And yet two months had to elapse before the liquor shops were sold, and Madura was only a day's

journey from Madras, which centre, as a matter of fact, could have been communicated with by telegraph. This was done as a matter of fact to choke off opposition and nullify the effect of the Government minute. I think this attempt to nullify a decision of the Government of India is a thing at which the House should express the utmost indignation. A point to which I would call special attention is this. I wish the Government to send out to India an inquiry to ascertain why it was that this petition was so contemptuously dismissed, and why it is that the wish of the people of the locality has not been given effect to according to provisions in the minute of the Government of India issued last year. I can supply the representative of the Government of India with full information on this subject. I do not expect to get a detailed reply, as it is impossible, in the absence of the right hon. gentleman who represents the Government of India in this House; but I ask that what is considered a great grievance in India shall be promptly stopped. All that is required is that the Madras Government should be communicated with, and that it should be pointed out that due attention should be paid to the wishes of the people, and that liquor shops should not be forced upon them against their wish.

Sir JAS. FERGUSSON: I am very sorry that through having been detained at the Foreign Office I was not able to be in my place this afternoon to answer the question of the hon. member on behalf of my right hon. friend, the Under Secretary of State for India. But as I wrote the hon. member, the Secretary of State for India has no official knowledge of the circumstances as to which he wishes for official information. He, however, undertakes to write to Madras as to the nature of the orders given, and as to the facts to which the hon. member alludes. That, I apprehend, is all the hon. member asks for.

### THE CEYLON HARBOUR.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the tonnage of vessels frequenting the harbour of Colombo, Ceylon, in 1890, exceeded the tonnage of 1889 by 185,000 tons, and the tonnage of 1889 that of 1888 by 576,000 tons; also that, on more than one occasion lately, all the port accommodation was taken up, and steamers had to anchor outside the harbour from want of room, though they were anxious to obtain the protection and facilities offered by the port; whether, under these circumstances, the Government will consider the question of the construction of the "northern arm" to the harbour, and will promptly consider and give an answer to the memorial addressed to the Secretary of State by the Chamber of Commerce of Ceylon, on the 21st of November, 1888, on this subject; and, if the Secretary of State for the Colonies has already replied on the subject of that memorial, what was his reply?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): The question of a northern arm to the Colombo harbour has been recently again raised, and the papers are now under the consideration of the consulting engineers. The memorial of the date referred to related to questions of account with a view to show that the construction of the existing breakwater had been remunerative, and a reply was sent at the time expressing the general concurrence of the Secretary of State in the views of the memorialists.

### SALE OF ARRACK.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire) had upon the paper a question to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he is aware that on 3rd February last a memorial signed by members of the municipality, the district board, missionaries, and 820 influential householders of the town of Madura, regarding the present location of some of the arrack, tavern, and liquor shops within the city walls, was presented to Mr. E. Turner, the collector of the district; that this petition pointed out that the sites of seventeen liquor shops were objectionable according to the letter and spirit of Clause 2 of the Draft Standing Order of the Board of Revenue, and that the said shops were a nuisance to the crowded neighbourhood in which they were placed, and a standing offence to the worshippers at the great temple of Madura; and, if he is aware that the consideration of this petition was deferred on the ground that it was too late to make the necessary references, although there were two months to make them, and, as the collectors are ordered to endeavour to obtain the expression of public opinion on the location of liquor shops, if he will order a careful inquiry into this apparent neglect of these instructions on the part of the collector of Madura?

In the absence of the Under Secretary for India the hon. gentleman postponed the question until after Easter.


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